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SCARCITY OR ABUNDANCE
THE PEOPLE
MUST CHOOSE
By

WILLIAM
IRVINE

Distinguished Journalist and Editor



15¢

A
**Contemporary
Booklet**

HARRY GUTKIN

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fol.

Dear Reader:

The winning of the war is the first concern of most thinking people today. The once powerful, invincible armies of the Third Reich are being annihilated on the scorched earth of Soviet Russia. From the air German cities are being laid to ruin by the combined air attacks of British and American bombers. Victory on the field of battle is no longer a prayer or a fervent hope, but a certainty.



THE AUTHOR

The time is drawing near for the people in the factories, in the offices, on the farms, in the mines, in the armed services, to take stock of their world of yesterday and the world we live in today so that we may better understand what we must do tomorrow.

We have during the war years, through a united effort and by careful planning, been able to provide a measure of security and prosperity for our people. Because of this, we have come quite a long way from the hungry thirties.

While the winning of the war is our first concern, there is yet another problem the people of Canada must face. The day after the victory is won, or even before that happy day, will we go back on the road to the hungry thirties or will we go forward to the abundant life? Will we destroy fascism abroad only to find reaction taking root over here? A reaction that comes not as brown shirted men burning books and goose-stepping down our city streets, but rather in another guise—as selfish, sinister individuals, seeking to prevent the people from gaining their just inheritance and forcing them back to yesterday's scarcity.

To vividly picture all our tragic yesterdays with all its poverty, its frustration, its sorrows and its fears; to be able to analyze and conceive a plan whereby tomorrow may be richer, happier and well worth looking forward to, is a task for men of great vision and ability. We feel that in William Irvine we have such a man—intelligent, capable, analytical, fearless.

It is true that William Irvine is one of the leaders of the C.C.F., but social and economic change are not the prerogative of any one political party. In times like these it matters not what party labels men bear but what they stand for and who they side with that counts. Are they for progress or regress? These are the only divisions facing us today. This then is not a case for his party, but rather a non-partisan review of conditions as they were and as they are likely to be unless we, the people, prevent their recurrence.

This is a book written by a man who is fully qualified to write it because of his long years of careful research, study and devotion to a great cause, the well-being of humanity. William Irvine was born in the Shetland Isles in 1885, came to this country in 1902 as a very young man. He worked his way through college and graduated in Manitoba in 1913. Was elected as a Labor Member to the House of Commons in 1921, representing East Calgary, and remained in the House for 14 years until 1935. William Irvine is the author of two books, "The Farmer In Politics" and "Co-operative Government." He has also written numerous pamphlets such as "Co-operation or Catastrophe," "The Forces of Reconstruction," etc. He is now associate editor in "The People's Weekly."

This veteran writer shows the need for a planned society by the people and for the people and shows clearly how this can be brought about democratically in our time. The time for meditation and thought is now, for tomorrow we must be ready to usher in the world of abundance.

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Published by CONTEMPORARY PUBLISHERS, 165 Selkirk Ave., Winnipeg, Canada.
Printed by Universal Printers, Winnipeg, Canada.

SCARCITY OR ABUNDANCE

THE PEOPLE MUST CHOOSE

LET'S LOOK AT THE FACTS

We are living during very critical times. On the battlefields, men are giving their lives to crush and wipe from the face of the earth those madmen who plunged the world into this frightful and costly war. In the factories,

in the mines, and on the farms, men are working with superhuman effort to sustain their brothers in the struggle.

The men who left their homes to fight on other continents are fighting against something. They are fighting to destroy forever the virus of hate and brutality, the enemy of progress.

Still others, while hoping to rid the world of fascism while fighting against something, are also fighting for something. These men are hoping that out of the chaos and destruction of the old, a new and fuller life of abundance for all will arise.

The old insecurity of the thirties still hangs over their heads like a spectre. The insecurity of the pre-war era and its continued existence after the war is one of the fears that haunts the soldier on the battlefields, his wife and family at home; the worker in the factory, in the mines and on the farms. Practically all men are agreed that we must not go back to the old way of life and that the war must bring about great changes. But some of those entrenched in the seats of the mighty today are afraid of change and they are using every instrument at their disposal to instill in the people a fear that change is a frightful thing. For people to be made afraid of social change by the words of interested propagandists while viewing the fearsome realities of the past with equanimity is almost beyond comprehension. It is like a woman becoming hysterical at the sight of a mouse while boldly advancing to encounter a lion.

If some wild, monstrous beasts, endowed with satanic ingenuity for human destruction had been

given complete freedom to ravish humanity the results could not have been worse than they have been. What are the facts? What has our pre-war economy been doing to Canadians? Let us look at the records.

The first we bring to give testimony is the Canadian Life Assurance Association. In a Toronto *Saturday Night* advertisement some years ago it asked and answered the following question: "What happens to 100 average men of 25 upon reaching the age of 65?"

The answer follows:

"Only one will be wealthy; four will be well-to-do and able to enjoy comfort and recreation; five will be working for a living with no prospect of relief from drudgery; thirty-five will have died, in many cases leaving families enduring hardship; fifty-five will be dependent upon friends or relatives or charity."

What sort of a prospect is that for any nation? Perhaps one reason why people face this prospect at all is because each of the ninety-and-nine entertain the overly optimistic hope that somehow or other he will be the lucky one to be wealthy. And so content with the gleam of illusionary wealth they plunge on to inevitable old age and the usual heritage of penurious charity.

Babies That Never Grow Up

What are the particulars of this graphic sketch of the life of an average Canadian from 25 years of age to 65? And what happens from birth to the age of 25?

Suppose we begin with the babies of Canada. What happens to them? Let the Hon. Ian MacKenzie, Minister of Pensions and Health, tell the story. He says:

"In four years, 1931-34, the number of deaths in Canada of infants under one year was 70,000, a figure 10,000 higher than the number of Canadians who lost their lives in four years of the Great War. . . . Canada's infant death rate in

1939 was twice as high as that of New Zealand. Nearly 10,000 lives of children could still be saved each year if the rate of Canada were brought down to that of New Zealand."

In explaining in part, at least, why the death rate of Canadian infants should be so high, Mr. Mackenzie says: "Of the 220,235 babies born in Canada in 1937, over 18,500 came into the world without medical attention." He further stated that over fifty per cent of the population had no nursing service at the time of the birth of children and that this explains the high infant mortality rate in rural and semi-rural areas.

That then is what the old order has done for the babies of Canada. The fiercest battlefield is a healthy place compared with the cradle according to the official figures of Canada's Minister of Health. The figures show that an expectant mother has far more reason to fear death for her child as a result of unfavorable economic conditions than she has to fear for its father who may be over Berlin in a bomber, in a submarine on the Atlantic or in the front line in Europe.

Killing in war is a gruesome, shocking, spectacle—terrible. This passes almost unnoticed when it is accomplished by the silent but equally murderous hands of malnutrition, unsanitary conditions, lack of medical care and proper nursing, and ignorance on the part of the parents.

Education For Those Who Can Pay

Meanwhile we shall follow the babies who manage to survive their first year and see how our society treats them. For the sake of being generous even with an inhuman economic system we shall pass over for the nonce the malnutrition, the multitudes who are insufficiently clad, the badly housed; we shall skip all the adenoids, the tonsils, the teeth and the impaired eyes which have been burdening countless thousands. And being uncared for helps to lay the basis for chronic diseases and premature death. Passing all this by, how have we till now prepared the youth of our society for life? Do all men's children have an equal opportunity to go to primary and secondary schools and to the university?

Again we turn to the actual figures for our answer. Dr. L. C. Marsh tells that "For the mass of the Canadian working population higher education is beyond their reach."

Comparing the children of parents by occupation he found that less than one per cent of un-

skilled workers even completed secondary education and have a remote possibility of university or professional education. And of skilled labor about three per cent received higher education. Of farmers only one and one-half per cent get through university, and of farm laborers less than one per cent gets there. Of the professional class some ninety per cent have had some secondary or higher education, while in the commercial and clerical class about seventy per cent.

It is a fact that only about one-third of the pupils who enter Grade 1 ever reach Grade XII. This is a waste of potential science and technology which no democracy can afford to lose.

Dean J. B. Johnston, of the University of Minnesota, in addressing the 1937 graduating class of the Liberal Arts College, pointed out that the college on an average received only one boy or girl from the labor class out of every 1,600 adult laborers, whereas it received one son or daughter for every 21 adult bankers, one for every 24 adults in general business and only one for every 315 adults engaged in farming. Dean Johnston did not stop there however. He went on to show that from 1931-35 when the poor children of farmers and laborers received federal aid, that 58 per cent of them became successful students and 15 per cent of them secured honor standing. Meanwhile among the children of the well-to-do, only 42 per cent became successful students and six per cent received honor standing. In other words out of 1,300 students who without federal aid would have been denied higher education, twice as many of them became honor students as were to be found among a similar number from the well-to-do class.

According to the brief of the Canadian Teachers Federation to the Sirois Commission eighty per cent of children drop out before they finish high school, and only three per cent take a university degree.

Universities, although built by the taxes of the people, are in the main for the use of the children of the rich. Canada has not yet realized that it is not money but ability which young people need to enable them to enter a university. As things are, the working masses, which represent the great majority, have not the money required for a university course no matter how much ability they may have.

Here is a waste too great to be calculated. The sheer waste of human material represented in the high mortality rate of children and in the neglect of their training and education by society, cannot be computed. But in these days when science and

technology play such an important role in human affairs it does not require a prophet to see that the protection and training of the bodies and brains of the youth of any generation is the greatest possible task of statesmanship. The children of any land or of any period are the greatest assets of any nation. And no nation can ultimately survive which fails to save its babies from death and to educate its youth for life. But great though the economic loss is because of this neglect, the loss in human values is greater still.

People Who Merely Exist

Coming now to the grown-ups of our society—we have to enquire how the average person fared in the years before 1939. Take first those who by sheer luck or by superior skill contrive in what is called normal times, to secure steady employment. How are they rewarded?

Of course it is convenient and customary to deal in averages. It must be remembered, however, that even when an average income has reached a living standard, there must be many below, just so there must be a few above, before an average can be found.

For example, Hon. H. H. Stevens revealed as a result of his 1934 price spreads enquiry, appalling conditions among workers in the Needle Trades. He found that out of 60,000 workers, 40,000 of them received wages ranging from \$3.00, \$4.00, \$5.00, \$6.00, \$7.00 and \$9.00 per week. That would give an average of about \$5.50 per week. How would an expert economist suggest that a person even without a dependent should proceed to disburse an income of \$22.00 per month, not to speak of those who received the munificent sum of \$12.00 per month? That was the best that we could do for 40,000 workers in the Needle Trades alone in 1934.

A more complete picture of the workers condition throughout Canada may be seen in the recent report of Dr. L. C. Marsh. In brief, he worked out what he calls a desirable standard of living and a subsistence standard based on 1941 figures. The desirable standard requires an income of \$131.45 per month for a family of five, or an annual income of \$1,577.40 a year. The subsistence allowance is put at \$94.54 a month for a family of five or \$1,134.48 per year.

Against these "subsistence" and "desirable" incomes Dr. Marsh places side by side the actual income of the male heads of families. This is

done separately for urban and rural families. There were 114,900 urban male heads of families who received less than \$500.00 a year in 1941, while 219,100 ranged from \$500 to \$750 up to \$1,000 a year. For the same period there were 103,100 rural male heads of families who received less than \$500; 80,500 who received from \$500 to \$750 and up to \$1,000. Of other urban male workers there were 219,900 who received less than \$500 a year and 203,700 who had incomes ranging from \$500 to \$750 and up to \$1,000. And of other rural male workers there were 203,900 who received less than \$500 a year, and 271,000 whose incomes ranged from \$500 to \$750 and \$1,000.

Be it remembered that Canada was prosperous in 1941 as compared to 1934. And yet with the alleged high wages paid in war time about sixty-six per cent of urban workers and over seventy-three per cent of rural workers received less than the calculated desirable income, while about 33 per cent of urban workers and 50 per cent of rural workers had incomes below subsistence levels.

Forgetting averages for a moment, what about the 700,000 workers who received less than \$500 a year, nearly 300,000 of whom were male heads of families? There in actual figures is the tragic story of Canadian society. Just what can be done in bringing up a family of three or five with an income of less than \$500? Imagine having to clothe, feed, educate, keep healthy, and shelter a family on these magnificent wages.

With an income like that it is not surprising that such a high percentage of Canadian families are undernourished. Dietary surveys in Halifax, Quebec, Toronto and Edmonton reveal that these families who receive less than the subsistence income suffer from malnutrition. The figures are that fifteen per cent of such families receive diets deficient in total calories; 17% were low in proteins, 57% in calcium, 36% in iron, 8% in vitamin B-1, and 46% in vitamin C. As Eugene Forsey, Ph.D., Director of Research for the Canadian Congress of Labor in Canada, points out, in "Reconstruction," "As 'deficient' was defined to mean 'less than 70% of the optimum nutritional standard' these figures can only be described as appalling."

Men and women who find employment count themselves fortunate even though wages, as we have seen, are far from being adequate to meet the needs of the recipients. But what of those who are refused an opportunity to work even for that mere existence level to which a large percentage of Canadian people have sunk?

THE FACE OF THE OLD ORDER

Life decrees that men must work to live. But our system decrees from time to time that men shall not be permitted to work. That means that those denied work have no means of existence except begging, stealing or charity.

of every city where soup kitchens were situated; "jungles" developed in the larger cities where men crawled into old boxes or dugouts like animals seeking shelter in the cold winter nights when the mercury dropped far below the zero mark; men and women could be seen at almost any hour of the day hunting in rubbish heaps and city dumps for a crust; about 1,500,000 Canadians were on "relief." This was a portrait of our society not many years ago.

Millet's "Man With the Hoe" as he is seen through the eyes of Edwin Markham is one of the most humiliating in all art or literature. He had "become a brother to the ox." His spirit had been crushed, and hope had died. He had ceased to feel the poignancy of the struggle, for manhood in him had yielded to circumstance and had died.

It was different with Canada's youth in 1932. The will to live, to mate, to be happy, was strong, hence the pain of frustration and overpowering futility was all the greater. This word picture of an unemployed period as portrayed by Mr. E. E. Roper, M.L.A., in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta will revive our memories: "Lest We Forget"—"I stood one cold, wet spring morning in a doorway on a street in Edmonton about five years ago and saw go by in front of me the most miserable procession I had ever witnessed. Their clothing might have been the contents of a thousand rag-bags—old overcoats, obviously made for someone else, their collars turned up against the cold rain; old mackinaws which were relics of the days when there had been work in the lumber woods; old suits frayed at all the edges, old hats, and caps of every description pulled down over shaggy heads; old shoes that flopped along on the wet sidewalk. There they were, the unemployed single men, hundreds of them, on their way to the relief office to get their tickets for their miserable two meals and a flop."

That was the reward meted out to those same men who later formed the vanguard or spearhead of our defence against Nazism in 1939. Stewart Chase said that of the "first two million men examined by the American army almost one million were rejected because their physical condition was below army standards." But we have no desire to linger over the tragic scene which might be sketched of the decade before the present war. Yet these things must be remembered. They are the sort of things which Canadians properly should both fear and hate. And that fear and hate of want, and poverty, of disease and frustration, and all they imply should and must be nursed in memory until the desire to live like human beings brings remedial action.

The reason for unemployment is too well known to be restated here. Time was when it was commonly believed that when men were out of work it was their own fault; that they were lazy, or were particular about the sort of work they would do. But as the system we have come to know as Capitalism ripened, the army of unemployed grew. The size of the army fluctuated. In a boom there would not be so many unemployed, whereas in a depression there would be many. As depression cycles came and went they came quicker, stayed longer and went slower. Unemployment became a chronic social disease. Eventually it became what is known as "normal." That is to say, it was taken for granted that there would always be a percentage of unemployed. By the time the 1929 depression came, unemployment began to be known for what it is, namely, the inevitable result of machine production for profit in a planless society. It became known as a "problem" by present-day statesmen, and one which they not only failed to solve, but which they do not believe can be solved in our countries if we persist in going about living the way we have in the past. One of the ablest Capitalist statesmen stated publicly a short time ago that to talk of ending unemployment was a delusion equal to that of trying to get rid of disease, without attacking it at its source.

All evidence points to the fact that the old order failed utterly to solve its own major problem of unemployment. It failed for ten years, allowing untold universal misery which finally culminated in World War II. Between the extraordinary demands for war supplies and the absorption by the armed forces of well up to a million men, unemployment has been temporarily stopped. It is the duty of the present government or any government which will follow in the years immediately following the war to make such plans as will prevent a recurrence of the hungry thirties.

A million men seeking work, driven to urgency in their search, not only by their own hunger, but by the pitiful plight of their families; ill-clad men hungry, cold and hopeless traversed the Dominion in box cars, stealing rides and risking their lives; long lines of them were stretched down the streets

Humanity did not hold a primary place in our economic system. This system of scarcity has not cared for nor did it protect the bodies nor the minds of the people. The facts about the health conditions of the Canadian people in the recent past should be sufficient in themselves to make every Canadian fear the continuation of our haphazard old order in the future. We have already noted the devastating results of this selfish system on infant mortality. But Capitalism did not stop doing away with people when they were one year old. It kept on taking its toll at every stage of life.

WHY LIFE IS SHORT

We have noted that the average income is far below the level of a desirable standard of life; that hundreds of thousands of our people receive less than \$500 a year, when over \$1,100 is the subsistence minimum and over \$1,500

the desirable living standard. Malnutrition is therefore inevitable. No amount of knowledge about diets could prevent the family of five from being undernourished on an income of less than \$500 a year.

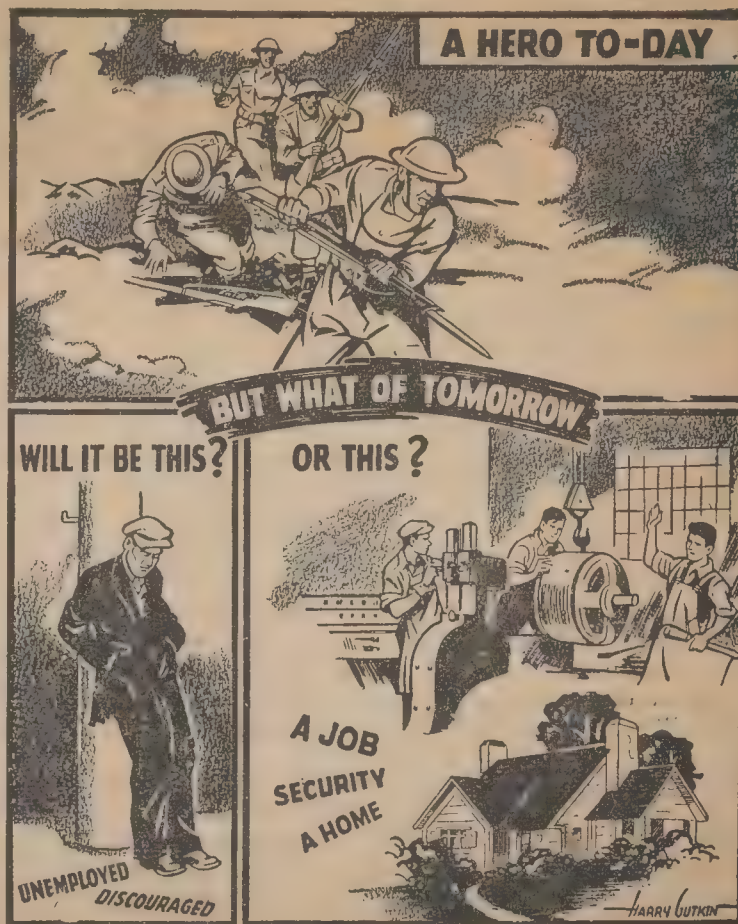
It is, of course, impossible to tell how many deaths each year could be traced to malnutrition. When resistance has been sapped by constant malnutrition even an ordinary common cold might prove fatal. Sir John Orr, who has done so much to formulate a food policy as a basis of post-war reconstruction in Britain, says: "One-third of the population in the United Kingdom and about an equal proportion of the U.S.A. do not enjoy food and shelter on a standard needed for health." And he further writes in the same work that "A system which is forced for its own preservation to prevent the production and distribution of commodities which the majority of mankind urgently needs is incompatible with human progress." This same gentleman during his last visit to Canada said, in Montreal, that malnutrition was a more serious problem in Canada than in Great Britain.

At the moment of writing I can hear some one pleading over the radio for

people to buy "stickers" during the Christmas season to help fight tuberculosis; that many more of Canada's young people die of T.B. than are killed in war. "Food For Thought" of March, 1942, says: "During the 29 months since the war began the deaths in Montreal from T.B. have been 5,900; a figure higher than that of those killed in battle."

It is of course very well known that ill-ventilated, poorly lighted, damp and uncomfortable homes breed T.B.; that poor food which reduces resistance and bad colds neglected and without medical attention often open the door to fatal diseases. Unhealthy homes and malnutrition are the parents of T.B. It is against those things that the noble people who fight T.B. should strike first and hardest. Of course, every one should buy "stickers" to help the sufferers from that dread disease, but if no more fundamental action is taken our successors may be still selling "stickers" to help the victims of T.B. years from now.

Give every Canadian family an adequate diet, a bright, comfortable sanitary home, and a little knowledge of how to take care of the body and the stamping out of T.B. would be a possibility in a generation or two.



In an appendix to the Sirois Report on Health, Mr. A. E. Grauer says: "The minimum wage and adequate housing may be as potent forces for public health as vaccine." He points out that 62% of the total deaths from T.B. in Canada occur in Quebec and the Maritimes which contain 37% of the population. T.B. flourishes in poverty. By comparing the counties of Kent and Gloucester with Queens and Kings counties in New Brunswick, it will be found that there are five times as many cases of T.B. in the poorer districts than in those where conditions are more favorable. The figures are: Kent 164, Gloucester 132, Queens 34, Kings 29.

The T.B. death rate is twice as high in the slums of Toronto as in the moderately well-to-do sections; the infant death rate is also twice as high, while deaths of mothers in childbirth is six times greater as also is the occurrence of infectious disease.

Mental disease is growing alarmingly. In 1935 there were 30,208 cases in our institutions. It has been estimated that 4% of all school children will at some period become mental patients. In other words as many Canadian children may expect to ultimately enter mental institutions as can expect to graduate from our universities.

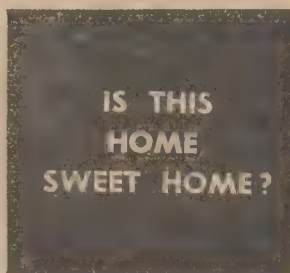
According to A. E. Grauer in the Sirois report "insanity could be reduced by 40% if prevention and early treatment were used." And if this were done \$5,600,000 would be saved in hospital costs alone, and besides there would be an increase in national income through the productivity of the 40% now in mental hospitals who would return to work. Estimating their earnings at the average this same fact finder says the amount would be about \$10,213,800.

Hon. Ian Mackenzie, Minister of Pensions and Health, says: "On any day an estimated 50,000 wage earners are idle through illness, which means that 17 million working days are lost each year." Perhaps this might be one way of wiping out unemployment. If another hundred thousand or two get sick each day there might eventually be a job for all who were left. Such a gruesome remedy may not be beyond the range of possibility if present tendencies continue. But Mr. Mackenzie goes on to say: "The cost of ill health to the Canadian people in 1940 was more than \$250,000,000, i.e., more than 5% of the national income for that year."

These facts become all the more sinister when it is considered that 25% of the Canadian people are medically indigent. That is to say, one quarter of our population cannot afford to have a doc-

tor's examination, go to a hospital or buy medicine of any kind. And scarcely 10% of the population can afford to pay for anything except minor medical expenses. A re-examination of the incomes as given in the Marsh report and a comparison of them with the estimated subsistence level will confirm these conclusions.

These facts constitute an indictment of our old methods. Health is directly related to living conditions, to food, clothing, homes, occupation, proper rest and absence of worry. But Canadians cannot have adequate food and clothing, healthy homes, rest, no worry and proper medical care on their present incomes. That is impossible. And it is equally impossible for them to have adequate incomes under a planless economy. A plan for economic security of life will be advanced as the alternative in later chapters. Meanwhile the results of our old follies must be seen as they affect the life and happiness of the common man.



A comfortable and beautiful home for every Canadian family is one of the essentials of health and happiness. Has the system of scarcity provided for this? What are the facts? According to the Federal Government's Commission Report given in 1942 it was not unusual to find in Eastern Canadian cities as high as ten families living in a house of ten rooms, with one bathroom for ten families. Such extraordinary crowding was, of course, due in part to the congregating of people in the industrial centers to work in war industries. But the situation although not as acute everywhere as the report referred to found it in certain cities, nevertheless a serious house shortage is general throughout the Dominion.

One Canadian publication had this to say: "With about 2,300,000 housing units in Canada, assuming that the average life of a house is 50 years, we should be building at least 46,000 houses annually without making provision for increases or changes in population." Figures computed from a survey of Winnipeg show that the total dwellings and suites provided for a period of fifteen years prior to the war was 1,315, while during the same period there were 16,878 marriages or about one dwelling for every thirteen married couples in need of a home. I quote again from

Eugene Forsey, Ph.D., in "Reconstruction": "Mr. George P. Mooney estimates that Canada needs to rehouse the lowest third income group, 250,000 dwelling units; to meet the immediate needs of the middle income group 100,000 units; to meet the needs of an expanding population, for these two groups alone an additional 150,000 units over a five-year period, a total of 500,000, or 100,000 new units a year for five years."

It would appear a fair estimate that in order to provide a home for every married couple in Canada we should require about 300,000 more homes than we already have. Since, however, we do not have that many new homes, the crowding of people into such dwellings as there are is inevitable and leads to slum conditions. According to the 1941 census statistics, twenty-seven cities containing populations of 30,000 and over, there were 150,000 crowded households in which about one million people are living.

Slums are costly. As in other matters it is much easier to tell what a slum costs in money than to estimate its loss in human values. A United States survey has revealed that it cost \$1,356,978 to service the major slum area of the city of Cleveland for one year. Fire insurance was higher, police protection was higher and tax receipts were lower per capita than other parts of the city. Fire protection in slum area cost \$18.27 per capita while the average throughout the city was \$3.12, police protection in slum area cost \$11.50 per capita; the average for the whole city was \$4.37. In other words it cost the City of Cleveland \$51.20 for each man, woman and child in the city as well as an additional amount of \$17.00 per capita paid in private charity to maintain the slum area for one year.

Canada needs and needs badly a vast home-building program. But we needed that five and ten years ago. It is not enough to tell how many houses are needed to provide homes for our population; it is not enough to figure the cost of slums or to warn against the great loss in human values. There must be the desire, the knowledge and the will to end this sort of thing and there must be the knowledge of how to end it. The war has proven that we are capable of a tremendous production—that we can build planes, guns, tanks, ships in great quantities. There is no reason why we cannot use this same manpower, the same raw materials, and plants reconverted for the building of these required homes when hostilities cease.

Why Some People Go Homeless?

As long as we continue with our old conception of life, there will be a scarcity of homes. It is

easier for landlords to make higher rents when there are 300,000 homes too few. When heads of families are forced to bid against each other for homes rents go up, while human health, morality and happiness go down. So far we haven't been able to find a home for every family.

Why have houses that have been built by the government not been made fit for permanent homes? What is to become of the houses built by Wartime Housing Ltd? About the end of 1942, \$69,000,000 of public money had been spent in house building. For answer we give the words of Hon. C. D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply, as he was quoted in the *Ottawa Journal* of Oct. 13th, 1941: "Wartime Housing Ltd. has been organized by the Dominion Government to meet an emergency and homes now being built would be removed after the war as the Government did not intend to interfere with private investment." Thus the people living in emergency homes built by their own taxes are to be ousted, and the homes demolished in order to increase the demand still further for private investment and private profit. There could be no clearer revelation of what is to be expected if pre-war conditions are allowed to continue after the war, than the words of the Minister of Munitions and Supply. Private investment comes first in his estimation. Homes will or will not be built according to the whims of private investors.

What Must Be Done By Responsible Government

This situation, however, might have been averted had our government planned to accommodate the needs of the homeless instead of worrying about private interests that did not provide sufficient homes for all the people in the past. It must be the responsibility of government to see to it that where private business does not provide the necessities called for, the government must step in and protect the interests of the people. This principle must apply not only to housing but to every other human need as well.

It is not enough for a government to sponsor public works of the type that digs ditches in one locality and fills them in in the next. These public works, of which housing is a major example, must be planned not only to maintain employment but to provide for the specific needs of the people, based upon a carefully conducted survey of their needs. Thus a two-fold function would be fulfilled (without resorting to the dole system as has been the practice in past years), supplying full employment and fulfilling one of the major human needs.

MEN OF THE SOIL

No picture of our old life could be complete without having a look at the farms and the farm homes. First, what was happening to the farms? According to the briefs presented by the governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and

Alberta in 1937, the mortgage debt on Manitoba farms was \$92,737,544. The total agricultural debt of Saskatchewan was put at \$482,000,000 or about \$15.00 of debt on every acre in crop. Alberta's agricultural debt stood at \$395,000,000, or \$25.00 for every acre in crop.

With such a debt burden the growing tendency toward tenancy in the past could be easily understood. In Saskatchewan in 1901 only 1.6% of the farms were occupied by tenants. In 1936 tenancy had grown to 20.4% of all farms in operation. The same marked tendency was apparent in Manitoba and in Alberta.

Who took the farms away from the farmers? About one-quarter of the farms of the prairies had already been taken away by mortgage companies. It must be admitted that during the war years the mortgage companies have sold some of these farms to the tenants. If bad markets recur undoubtedly many of these farms will again revert to the mortgage companies. Agriculture in Canada was rapidly passing out of the hands of small holders, and the tendency was toward a landlordism. Had that tendency continued it is not beyond the range of possibility that fifteen years from now the great bulk of Canadian individual farms would have become the property of mortgage companies. These companies would then have organized farming on a purely industrial basis. Farms would have become large industrialized units not owned and operated by the farmers, but owned by large companies who would have hired farmers as they hire miners and factory workers today.

The debt burden was already a fact and the marked growth in the numbers of tenant farmers was also a fact.

This picture of tenancy as well as the disappearance of the individual freeholder was a true picture of farm conditions up to 1939. However, since the war many farmers have paid up their mortgages and many others have materially reduced them. Should there be any recurrence, however, of low prices after the war, the old tendency would be certain to return.

If the farmer is to maintain his present im-

proved position, floor prices on his products must be established and lower interest rates also brought into effect. An important factor involved in this is control by the government of farm production, which means a planned farm program, removing forever the uncertainty that faced the farmer in previous years.

It is not necessary to go far afield to find some of the reasons for the enormous farm debt and for the tendency toward tenancy which have been noted. During the most severe depression in the history of agriculture \$47,000,000 a year was taken from the prairie farmers through adverse international exchange alone. This occurred through the action of the Canadian government in anchoring the dollar to the pound sterling. The three prairie provinces paid more than \$58,000,000 a year more than the market price of the goods purchased. This was brought about by the tariff. And as the farmers were the heaviest purchasers of protected goods they paid the larger portion of that amount. Add to these unjust charges the exorbitant interest rates which farmers have been charged since the west was opened up, the high freight rates, and the high toll taken by grain gamblers and packing plants and it is not difficult to understand the plight of agriculture in the years gone by.

It has often been said and said truly that the farmer was at the mercy of every branch of our economy. He had to pay the prices that were asked and he had to take the prices that were offered. A farmer could not price a dozen of eggs, a bushel of grain or a pound of meat. He always had to ask some one else how much are you going to give me, and how much are you going to ask me to pay?

This unhealthy condition of the agricultural industry naturally reflected itself in the homes of the rural population and in the lack of modern conveniences and of opportunity for their children to obtain higher education. According to the Bureau of Statistics only four out of every one hundred farms in three of the provinces had bathroom facilities; and in the other provinces about eight out of every hundred had baths; less than two out of every hundred farms had running water in the kitchen, and there were fewer farm homes with telephones in 1941 than in 1931.

Bad as we have seen housing to be in the cities, conditions in this respect were even worse on the farms. According to the 1941 census statistics, in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island over one-quarter of all farm houses needed repair; one-third of all farm houses in Ontario and British Columbia needed repairing while nearly half of the farm homes in Quebec, Mani-

toba, Alberta, New Brunswick and Saskatchewan were in the same condition.

Cold as Canada's winters are, and necessary as it is to have furnaces for comfort and health, only a very small percentage of farm houses in Canada have furnaces. Prince Edward Island is the lowest with seven per cent, Ontario the highest with over sixteen per cent, while all the other provinces come somewhere in between.

The above sketch presents some of the conditions which call for remedy. If the wealth which Canadians have here produced since the war began, and which has been destroyed in one way or another in conflict with the enemy, had been produced and distributed during a similar period in peace time, it would not have been possible to write a chapter such as this is. For in that case the people of Canada would have had all that has been tabulated that they have not got.

One of the objects of this war is to free people from fear. Poverty is one of the ever-present fears. To get rid of poverty must be our chief concern. How is that to be done?

ward like noble Galahads to slay the Hitler menace and save the Holy Grail of liberty by itself.

No! Rugged individualism can start a war quite easily, but alas! Canada's rugged individualism is never rugged enough to get out of the counting house when a blitz is on. Then it is the common variety that must come to the rescue; those who were unemployed in peace time and who were then prevented from organizing themselves into a collectively conscious group to slay the enemy of poverty at home must stand to do the job; those who were refused security in peace must in war stand shoulder to shoulder in the front line and do the fighting.

It may well be asked if our fighting forces are really defending in this war that so-called "rugged individualism" which taunted them, starved them, tear-bombed them, but had no use for them during the days of peace-time poverty. Rugged individualism was glad to rely on the great mass of "ragged" individuals to save the country from the over-ripe fruits of its cultivated greed.

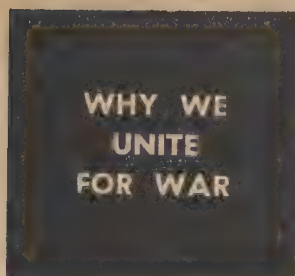
The Common Man Fights and Works But Must Not Control

In war people must do things together if they are to survive. They must work, march, fight, die, and win together. The alternative is for each one to work, march, fight, die and lose separately.

This war brings the collective purpose into prominence if not to the supremacy which it deserves. And to the extent that that collective purpose has dominated in this war, so has the anarchy of rugged individualism been overcome.

A certain measure of planning has entered into our war effort. It became evident in the early stages of the war that the anarchy of private enterprise under a profit motive if left unchecked would make victory impossible. And so under the dire threat of Nazi conquest, the Canadian Government as well as other governments now at war against the Axis, undertook to impose certain restrictions on anti-social tendencies in industry and to exercise certain directive influences.

In Canada there were set up certain boards of control such as: The War Industries Control Board, as well as boards to control prices, foreign trade, foreign exchange, Selective Service, and rationing, etc. These controls have been extended also into the international field in an effort to co-ordinate the whole productive system as well as



Where there is no conscious collective purpose there is neither need for nor desire to have a plan. A nation that is determined to go nowhere needs no direction. In fact it will get nowhere more certainly and quickly without any

plan.

It is only when the people of a nation have decided that there is a certain way of life which they are determined to follow that plans become essential and the manner of planning must be accordingly as democratic as the ends sought.

Canada has never known the power of a collective purpose except in war. All through our peace time history we have believed that each one for himself could gain the way of life he desired better by himself than he could in co-operation with others. In war, however, we of necessity became aware that we could not hope to defeat the Axis as individuals. It was noticeable when war came that the rugged individualism which boasts in after-dinner speeches how it has brought Canada from buffaloes and pioneers to magnates and millionaires, did not come for-

the military strategy of the nations opposing the Axis powers.

There have been many objections by the public to the personnel of these boards and to the manner in which they have discharged their duties. The War Labor Board consisting of representatives of the employers and asked to function without the guidance of an accepted Labor policy, is a case in point. The head of nearly every one of the War Boards is a representative of a monopoly of some sort or other. Farmers, labor, small business men and professionals who compose about 90 per cent of the population have practically no representation on these War Boards. That is why people object.

The objection is not the restrictions because any purposeful planning imposes restrictions; rather that the powers of restriction are in the hands of those who need most to be restricted, that direction is left largely in the hands of industrial representatives who need to be directed themselves towards a better public policy. The Canadian people appear to want a better planned war effort. Especially is this true of manpower.

one of the largest power producing plants in the world and the greatest aluminum producing plant in the Allied Nations, largely paid for by the Allied Nations, but owned by the Company.

One of the big questions on the home front at the present moment is this: Is it the intention of Big Business to stop all planning of the sort which gives preeminence to the public interest? This question can be answered this way. There is a group of enlightened capitalists who, for instance, in the United States, backed the New Deal right from the beginning because they were wise enough to realize that if their society was not planned to provide some measure of security for the people, and if things were allowed to go their own merry way, nothing but chaos would result. Chaos for the people and to their own secure positions. The very existence of their empires would be threatened.

They agreed to restrictions and higher taxes and a certain measure of planning because they were willing to face reality. With the help of the vast majority of the American people, the President of the United States was able to save America from catastrophe in the hungry thirties.

There were big business men who bucked every effort of President Roosevelt to carry his New Deal into practice. These men never learned the lesson of the times then and it may be that some of them aren't any wiser today.

There is no doubt that the war has made a difference and that there is a group of men in the business world who realize that a haphazard economy would bring in its wake chaos and ruination for themselves as well as the people at large. These enlightened business men are no doubt prepared to co-operate with planning commissions and remain on a "war footing" for peacetime living. It may be that their willingness is brought about for very selfish reasons, but nevertheless, very realistic ones.

That is the positive side of the picture. There is, however, a negative side—the rugged individuals who would throw overboard all planning and restrictions that they tolerated during the war emergency. These men are waiting for the opportunity to go back to the old way of doing things—back to the hungry thirties. It is against these men that the people must be warned and must be united to resist. It is for the people to decide whether or not men with selfish minds and greed-infested hearts will form the governments of tomorrow, or those who, with the people, are willing to resist all attempts to go back to the old when we are determined to go forward to the new.

HOW BUSINESS FARES IN WARTIME

The Aluminum Company of Canada and its Shipshaw deal is an outstanding example of how Big Business has consolidated its position of special privilege since the war began. The Canadian Government, by special depreciation

allowances amounting to \$177,359,956.06, spread over the years 1941 to 1945, treated the Aluminum Company down at Arvida handsomely. This amounts to 100 per cent depreciation on all capital expenditures of the company, and the privilege extends to expenditures to be made in British Guiana as well as in Canada.

In addition to this, depreciation amounting to 60 per cent of the cost of the Shipshaw project was allowed. Additional assistance was given by advance payments for future deliveries of aluminum by the Governments of Britain, the United States and Australia, amounting to \$93,000,000. Thus the entire cost of these aluminum plant extensions and sixty per cent of the power plant development will be paid out of war contracts already made. As a result the Aluminum Company of Canada will emerge from the war with



ONE AIM
ONE PURPOSE
FOR CANADA

was pursuing its own unregulated, uncharted course. The effect of this drifting was, as we know, unemployment, destitution, misery, and a lack of markets for the goods we did produce. Due to this and other failures of our system World War II eventually resulted.

During each of these two wars we had a unity of social purpose, while between World War I and World War II we lost this social purpose. What we must do during the post-war years is continue in that spirit of social purpose which animates us in this present war. That the people in peace time have within them the capacity to respond to social purpose as they responded during the war years goes without saying.

Is it not possible, however, yes, even probable, that the Canadian people themselves and in their own way will demand a purpose for peace time as well as for war? Since the people of the nation united in a collective purpose for victory over the political Axis of Germany, Italy and Japan, should they not unite as readily in the post-war period for victory over the equally threatening Axis of poverty, disease and ignorance? These three enemies of Canadians take a greater toll than even war.

Canada's greatest post-war need will be a Social or Collective purpose for the common effort; a purpose which can harness the collective will to its achievements; a purpose worthy in itself to command the respect and the willful effort of every citizen; a purpose which will hitch up to its fulfilment every resource human and material—natural resources, mechanical devices, technology, industrial organization, transportation, finance, social, educational, religious and governmental institutions. All these should be as consciously devoted to the peaceful pursuits of a nation as they have been to winning of victory in two World Wars.

War is destructive and inhuman in its results. People engage in it with great reluctance. But when it becomes necessary to survival to engage in war, people enter into it with a collective will which tends to remove every obstacle from the path of the common purpose.

Looking Forward

What tremendous possibilities would loom on the future horizon were Canada to be dominated after this war by a constructive, human and life-wa'd purpose! A purpose to displace the fear-urge and the profit lust so well known in generations past; which would make plans possible and without which drift is inevitable; which unifies rather than disrupts by cross-purposing individualism; which leads to mutuality, friendship and human brotherhood rather than to competition and brutal strife; a purpose as wise as our best wisdom, as noble as the highest ideals of our religion, and as practical as modern science. This is what is needed to direct the national effort in a peace world toward the creative activity of feeding, clothing and sheltering, educating, keeping healthy and making happy the citizens of this great land. It is such a purpose which we must have—a purpose which will give unity and meaning to national effort, running through every essential institution as a thread through the beads of a necklace.



The general collective purpose which Canada must have is that of making the strongest, wisest, noblest and happiest human beings that it is possible to make out of the potentialities with which every one begins life. Stating this

specifically in terms of practical policy it would imply:

Our Daily Bread

(1) Ample food for every Canadian. It is quite safe to say that Canadians never had sufficient nutritious food, not even in the years when vegetables and fruits rotted in the fields because there was no market, and when the grain was so abundant that it was burned as fuel in certain sections of the prairies. It is doubtful if Canada has ever produced a surplus of any sort of food with the single exception of grain. One of the surprising discoveries of the international food commission was that certain foods had to be rationed in America during this War. For example, meat was and is rationed although one-

quarter more meat was produced in 1942 than in pre-war years, and exports of meat had not increased, but in fact had decreased. This fact had only one explanation, and that was that people being employed during the war had income with which to buy meat, while prior to the war a large percentage of the population could not afford to buy it. Some could not buy it at all, while many were forced to buy less of it than they would and should have bought had their purses permitted.

The figures on malnutrition in Canada quoted elsewhere in this booklet will support this contention.

No one will deny that people must have sufficient food if a normal life of reasonable physical well-being is to be maintained. But our present system has never given the slightest consideration to such a question; even when humanitarian scientists like Dr. Orr in Britain and Dr. Pett in Canada have presented the facts, no provision has ever been thought of by which a sufficiency of nutritious food might be made available to the entire population.

A Government which had the welfare of the people in mind as the dominating purpose of the national economy would do about food, clothing

and other essentials of life as the U.S.A., Britain, Canada and others of the United Nations have done in respect to ships, planes and tanks. To maintain shipping, the number sunk each week or month by the submarines had to be taken into consideration. To make up that loss and to increase shipping tonnage to do the necessary war work, so many ships had to be built. Similarly so many tanks and planes were required to give the United Nations the advantage over the Axis.

It is certainly no more difficult, in fact it is much easier, to determine how much nutritious food is required to supply the needs of the Canadian people. Not how much will be required to supply the demands of a market determined by insufficient income, but the amount required to feed every citizen. If the British Government can tell a year in advance how many million pounds of bacon are required to maintain the physical fitness of the British people during a war, cannot the Canadian Government tell in advance how many million pounds of everything essential in foodstuffs are required to maintain the fitness of all Canadians in time of peace? And not only to know the amount required but to make adequate provision for the production and distribution of the amount required?

To do just that will be the first duty of a post-war government if it has human need rather than private profit as its purpose. That is what is meant by freedom from want as guaranteed by President Roosevelt.

Why Rags and Tatters?

(2) Sufficient clothing for decency and comfort in the extremes of climate to which we are subject in Canada, must be a collective responsibility in any real democracy. Those who witnessed the poorly clad, yes ragged millions of Canadians during the last depression, require no figures to confirm the view, that scarcity in this as in other essentials of life has been as prevalent in Canada as shortage of food.

Children of many farmers as well as of miners and factory workers go ill-clad to school. It will be recalled how charity organizations collected cast-off clothing of all descriptions to distribute to the most needy. And this was done while boot and shoe factories and textile mills were idle or running only part time.



The people whose children were ill-clad, the unemployed who were cold and ragged in 1932 could have soon produced ample supplies had they been permitted to work.

In a well-planned society the people would have an opportunity to provide themselves with comfortable clothing. Boots, shoes and clothing would be made to wear. Human needs would determine the demand and not that of a profit market.

Good Homes For Everyone

(3) A home for every family would be an immediate objective. As we have seen it, our system failed to provide 300,000 families in Canada from having any home of their own up to the time of the war; hundreds of thousands of others lived in slums both in the cities and on the farms.

With a generally accepted collective purpose of human interests first, a properly based society in Canada could guarantee a home for every family. That home would be wholesome, comfortable, and beautiful; a place to be proud of and to love; a place to seek and find inspiration and hope; homes in very truth in which the surroundings were clean, bright, cheerful and healthy, and in which a taste for beautiful things might be born and developed in those who inhabit them. Because we have the natural resources, the machines, the manpower used to produce the sinews of war, we can utilize these same resources and convert the wartime plants to produce the necessities of life.

Health For All The Responsibility Of All

(4) The health of the community would be a social responsibility. A contagious disease is a sociable affair. It will pass from one end of the community to the other disregarding every color, creed or ethnic relation. It should therefore be a social responsibility to overcome such diseases.

Occupational diseases should be a Social responsibility because individuals who suffer from them contract them while doing a public service. When a miner contracts scillicosis, or a worker in a certain factory succumbs to a disease induced by his occupation, he should not be left to face such a tragedy alone. In most instances, these things can be avoided. And if they were there would be more human happiness.

In a community, however, in which healthy human beings was a collective purpose, there would be free preventive measures, free doctors, free medicine, free hospitals and free nursing. That is to say, these social services would be provided for out of the public pool of wealth. They would be a first charge on the community.

Figures quoted in an earlier chapter show how Canadians suffer from lack of these social health services.

New Zealand, one of the smallest of British countries, has already socialized health services.

Then Russia, one of the largest and richest countries of the world, has also attended to this human need.

All these improvements in health cannot be accomplished without first training the necessary amount of dentists, doctors and nurses in order to be able to better and more efficiently serve the community. Hospitals are needed in the rural areas with all the necessary equipment for proper health. Staffed by competent, well-trained specialists.

We have made tremendous technological advances during the war in equipment, surgical and medical supplies, drugs, etc. We have trained hundreds of X-ray technicians; laboratory assistants. The factories that built the equipment that is used at present in base hospitals at the front and in military hospitals at home can supply our civilian needs. This after we have distributed whatever equipment the army will have no need for when hostilities cease. Today most public spirited people are agreed that health is the responsibility of the state and in the same way that the government has the right to call upon each individual member of the country in time of war to offer his life, so must that government in turn protect the lives of each one of its citizens in time of peace.

Care For The Sick And Helpless

(5) Sufficient income for the sick, the crippled, the victims of accident, the blind and the old-aged. Just as it must be considered a Social responsibility in a planned Society to provide free medical attention in all its branches to the sick, so must their incomes be maintained. When a factory worker loses a limb, a farmer loses a hand in a threshing machine, or a miner is maimed for life by a cave-in, their incomes should be assured while they live and their families should be provided for at the accepted living standard

level. This is such obvious justice, such a natural human responsibility that it requires no justification or argument. When any person is maimed in the prosecution of his calling, or is the victim of an accident which incapacitates him for any length of time, he and his family must not be left to bear that alone. When the head of a family, for instance, loses an arm, his earning capacity drops and his family must suffer with him. Humanity decrees that all of us together must bear that loss. For that which would crush an individual would be of little or no inconvenience to any one if all bore the responsibility together.

It is just the justice of this procedure which brought about the Beveridge report in Britain and the Marsh report in Canada. The fact that these reports have been made is a healthy indication that people are going to demand insurance against individual tragedies of ill health, accident, unemployment and old age, etc. Social insurance is a step in the right direction, but is in itself not a cure for our economic ills. Sir William Beveridge himself made this clear when he wrote:

"Fourth, and most important, income security, which is all that can be given by social insurance, is so inadequate a provision for human happiness that to put it forward by itself as a sole or principal measure of reconstruction hardly seems worth doing. It should be accompanied by an announced determination to use the powers of the State to whatever extent may prove necessary to ensure for all, not indeed absolute continuity of work, but a reasonable chance of productive employment."

These desirable social fruits grow only in well cultivated social fields.

Old Age In Comfort

Old Age Pensions in Canada are an insult to the recipients and a disgrace to the nation. True, it may be that amounts from \$14.00 to \$25.00 a month to people over 70 years of age may help to keep breath in their bodies, but it is an insult to them because it is not only inadequate to maintain that standard of living which those receiving pensions enjoyed while they were able to work, but the basis on which pensions are granted is that of indigence and not of right. And our pension system should cause every Canadian to be ashamed that the old people who have worked so hard throughout their long lives of toil should be so ill rewarded at the setting of the sun.

The pension age should be reduced to 55 or

60 years; it should be granted to every person as a right of citizenship and without having to pledge his home or income from other sources to the Government as a prerequisite to receiving a pension.

Education For Life

(6) Equal opportunity for every man's child to obtain an education is another important feature of a post-war planned economy. We have already the facts in respect to education in Canada. The figures given in a preceding chapter tell their own story without further elaboration.

The most important fact in this connection is that the education of youth should not be conditioned by the private income of their parents. Public schools and high schools, and universities have been built at public expense. Only those who have sufficient private means, however, are privileged to attend them.

It is surely high time that young people with ability should have the doors of the university opened to them too; no matter what may be the financial standing of their parents.

Our children are the basis of our hope for tomorrow. We must get over the idea that in educating a generation we are incurring an expenditure which must be added to the debit column of the national income account. There is no investment which will pay more in real human values than that spent on education.

But there is another very important consideration in this connection. There is no form or system of society which requires as high an educational standard from every individual as that of democracy. Unless we are a nation of hypocrites we are fighting for a democracy which we must implement.

If a fuller democracy—and by this is meant the adding of economic democracy to our political democracy—is to be tried and made a success in Canada, education of the entire population both young and old is indispensable. In fact the stabilizing of an efficient democracy depends upon the education of succeeding generations. For if the people as a whole are to do their own thinking, run their own business and govern themselves, they must be prepared for such responsibilities.

But the kind of education is of as much importance as its universality. Education for a full democracy must be different from that of an education for a partial democracy. There are those, even in the teaching profession, who are opposed

to what they call "indoctrinating." They do not appear to think that the human principle which has called the youth of this nation to die on a hundred battlefields should be openly taught in school.

A curriculum for a full democracy is beyond the scope of this booklet, but it must be mentioned here as an educational feature of first importance. One generation of sensible social teaching and direction would enable us to examine our existing society in the free spirit of scientific enquiry and would blast present traditional attitudes off the map of human affairs in less than one generation.

To educate youth along truly democratic lines would destroy forever the fear of one racial group for another that breeds racial intolerance, bigotry, misunderstanding. To educate a whole generation in this way would give to Canada citizens healthy in mind, truly co-operative and democratic in spirit. Thus will people learn the art of true social living. Let us not forget that reaction breeds and spawns on ignorance—full democracy on education for life and enlightenment for all.

It will therefore be an important function of a sincere, enlightened post-war government to see to it that the fundamental principles of a true and full democracy are taught, and that every man's child shall have an equal opportunity to embrace that particular branch of knowledge which best suits the aptitudes of every individual student.

Such a program envisages free high school, and free university education. It may even mean that young people of worthwhile abilities may be paid to go to the university.

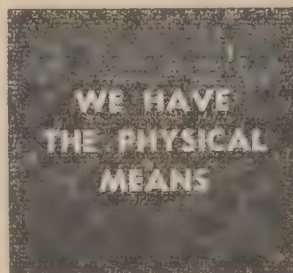
The above suggestions may be taken as that minimum standard of living which a complete democracy might well accept as a fitting post-war purpose for the people of Canada.

To introduce this minimum program would avoid the possibilities and the dangers of the much dreaded depression years returning to scourge and destroy the spirit, the mind and the bodies of the very youth we called upon in 1939 to save us from military destruction. Surely it is our duty to guarantee them the freedom from economic destruction.

It is the solemn duty of all progressive forces in the country and their elected representatives in the House of Commons to support any government acting along the lines outlined, regardless of who proposes this minimum program.

There is an old saying that "there is many a

slip 'twixt the cup and the lip" which in this case would mean that it's one thing to make promises and another to carry them out. It will therefore be the first duty of those that represent us in the House of Commons to see to it that this minimum program becomes part and parcel of our everyday life. It is further the duty of the people to exert every pressure on the government and on the members of the House to see to it that the program is not so diluted as to become ineffective.



There could be only one acceptable reason why Canada should not agree to the minimum standard of living above sketched. And that is if the standard set is too high for attainment. The question therefore which confronts us at once is: Does Canada have the physical resources to provide such a minimum living standard? There should be no difficulty in answering that question in the affirmative.

The very first fact to meet us on the threshold of this enquiry is that in 1942 the total wealth produced in Canada was \$9,000,000,000. If there had been any definite purpose dominating national and international policy we would have produced and distributed \$9,000,000,000 worth of wealth in 1932 instead of the miserable \$2,700,000,000 that we did produce.

Be that as it may, we did produce \$9,000,000,000 worth in 1942. If that amount of wealth had been produced for use in peace, and equitably distributed, it would have provided an income of about \$4,000 for every family in the Dominion; and having produced that much with about 700,000 of our ablest young people in the armed forces, it should be easy to maintain that volume of national wealth and even to increase it very considerably after the war.

It is true that every war is a costly and destructive undertaking. Nevertheless, all the goods used in the war have been produced by the Canadian people since the war began. Although that is the case, still much of the goods so produced and used will stand as a debt against the Canadian people when the war is over. That is due to present methods of financing. If our society had been an honest one, Canadians would not owe any other Canadian for anything produced and used in war.

The People Will Have To Pay For The War—Why?

It is futile to speculate on what either might or should have been. It is what is and what is to come that matters and must be faced. Nevertheless, it may be observed that primitive tribes would have handled a war much more justly and efficiently in its financial phase than Canadians have done. When a primitive tribe went to war with another tribe, it organized its people, roughly, as we do today. All the young and strong men who could throw stones the straightest and furthest would be put into the front line; all the older men who knew from experience the best size and shape of stones to throw at the enemy would gather stones and bring them up to the young men who were facing the foe; and the women and children would be engaged in hunting and fishing so as to provide the warriors and the munition and supply corps with food. And when such a battle was over, no one owed any one else anything for stones gathered or thrown, or for food consumed. The tribe fought as a unit, each individual on a basis of equality. They were victorious or they were defeated together as the case might be. Not so today. We throw block busters instead of stones, but the principle is just the same. The results, however, are different in more ways than one. But the chief point of difference which concerns the Canadian people is that while at the close of a tribal war there was no burden of debt to be carried, at the close of our wars most of us will owe a few of us for much of the material produced for and destroyed in the war which was fought by and for all of us.

And tragic is the fact that the sons of our fighter pilots will have to pay the sons of other men for the bombs they dropped on Berlin at such hazard to their lives and which bombs were produced by Canadian working men—their fathers.

Returning from this brief digression on war debt we shall endeavour to answer the question as to whether or not Canada's physical assets are sufficient to provide the minimum standard of living, food, clothing, homes, health services, social security, old age pensions and equality of education for all the people.

Our Country Has Plenty For All

Canada will be a richer country after the war than she was before. For a country is rich in accordance with its capacity to produce wealth. And the facts confirm the conviction that we shall

be able to produce more wealth after the war than we could before it began, and even more than we have been able to produce in the peak year of war production. What are the grounds for such a conclusion?

(1) Our resources are still vast. In some respects they are greater than before—at least we know of some which we were unaware of when the war began. The great petroleum and mineral wealth of the Northwest Territories, the uncovering of iron ore at Steep Rock are cases in point. Then our agricultural resources are still tremendous and with proper conservation methods can provide abundance of raw material for all time. The great advances made in plastics and chemistry may well mean that agriculture in the future may become in reality a basic industry. With proper reforestation, soil conservation and irrigation Canada's food producing capacity will be very great. At any rate there is no reason why future generations of Canadians should lack either food or the raw materials for essential industries.

(2) Capital equipment has been expanded to a very great degree. The only actual figures we have of capital increase in Canada is the \$800,000,000 of public money expended in capital equipment in government-owned plants since the war began. But the amounts which have been ploughed back by private corporations as a result of the encouraging accelerated depreciation scheme must be very considerable. Incidentally the proposal is to liquidate the \$800,000,000 capital investments made from the public treasury at the close of hostilities. This will probably be accomplished by selling crown company plants as scrap to private enterprise. Nevertheless when the war ends we shall have capital equipment capable of producing more wealth than it was possible to produce at any time in our previous history.

(3) According to government figures 800,000 young technicians have been trained since the war began. This is another very essential factor in increased production. Eight hundred thousand technicians added to pre-war personnel represents a great advance. And it should not be difficult to increase the number of our technical men if necessary, for many thousands of our returning men from all branches of the forces have had very considerable technical training and could be ready to enter production activities with perhaps a refresher course.

(4) One of the first things to be done when the war started was to make the tools necessary for the making of tanks, planes and ships, etc. Machine tools of all sorts had to be produced. So

that today we not only have more machine tools than ever before, but we have the machines necessary to make machine tools and can maintain and increase our supply as required.

(5) Then there have been new inventions and new discoveries since the war which in some instances will revolutionize production and which will greatly help to still further equip the nations to enter the dawning age of plenty. Some of these are secrets of the war and may not be known until the war is over. Perhaps not all of the inventions and discoveries will be as useful in peace as they are in war. For instance the radar was a Godsend to the small force of R.A.F. planes which defeated the Nazi blitz in Britain. While such an invention may be useful in peace it was exceptionally serviceable in war. But all advances made in the Services, in technology, mechanics and industrial organization will be, of course, invaluable in peace.

The above is by no means an exhaustive survey of Canada's physical fitness to produce abundance for all her people when the war ends. But enough facts have been listed to make it certain that if we have the will to use our assets, material and human, there need be neither unemployment as we have known it, or want, or fear of want again in Canada, nor indeed in all this vast country from Cape Horn to the Arctic Ocean. Nor is there any reason why abundance of the essentials of life should not be a universal achievement.

But in Canada where our population is comparatively small and our physical resources relatively great it will be a shame and disgrace to every Canadian, should any one of its citizens have to face enforced idleness and want in years to come after being called upon to give freely of his life's blood, his sweat, his toil and his tears.



It is all very well to say that after the war unemployment can be abolished and farmers can get a good return for their work. The burning question is how. This is the question over which economists and would-be econo-

mists differ. Our economic system is a very complex affair. But while the experts argue, the common people, looking at the matter in their own common sense way, say simply: "If we can

have prosperity and jobs for all in war, why can't we have the same thing in peace. If there is lots of money for war why can't there be lots of money for peace?"

Unemployment can be virtually abolished. But if it is to be abolished, it will require courage and determination on the part not only of the government of Canada but also on the part of many other governments as well. Jobs and prosperity depend on markets. Unlimited markets create unlimited jobs. Limited markets mean limited work. During the war we have had a market for all that could be produced and in consequence there has been work for all and good prices for the farmers.

But as the Englishman said: "We can't have everything nice." The price that must be paid for prosperity after the war is a continuation of government regulation of economic affairs. When a government takes into its own hands the determination of the volume of production, it possesses the power to determine the extent of employment. The governments of all the warring countries today determine the volume of production with the results in employment, and in countries such as this, a reasonable measure of prosperity.

It is no use saying that private enterprise can be trusted to go its own way. We have trusted it too long and with too disastrous results. Of course many short-sighted capitalists, through their newspapers and magazines are seeking to terrify the people with the bogey of bureaucracy and regimentation. They will try to persuade the workers that no government interference plus no jobs is preferable to government interference and jobs. The same argument will be used for the farmer. But both workers and farmers know that their real freedom lies in the freedom to work and the freedom of getting a decent living rather than in the freedom of hunting a job and not getting it and the freedom on the part of the farmer of working sixteen hours a day for a meagre existence.

As has been said, the reason we have full employment and good prices for farm produce at present, is basically because the government controls production and sees to it that public investment is sufficient to keep industry busy. The public investment today is for guns and planes and ships and tanks. If the public investment is maintained after the war for houses, hospitals, roads, bridges, schools, halls, irrigation, soil conservation, reforestation and so on, and if at the same time international trade is made at least relatively free, industry can be kept going

at a rate sufficient to keep everyone employed and the farmers prosperous.

So there are two things essential for jobs for all and good prices for the farmer. The two things which we need are export markets and domestic markets. The export market, for its proper development, requires the freeing of trade from the barriers of tariffs. The domestic market is created when the people have the wherewithal to buy. The purchasing power of Canadians must be developed after the war by great schemes of public works. There is all the difference in the world between public works and relief schemes. Relief schemes are designed, not to stimulate the economy by paying good wages which can be spent in consumer goods but are designed merely to keep bodies and souls from parting company. They are useless insofar as making for an improved working of the economy of the country is concerned.

If we are to prevent a repetition of the disastrous tariff policies of the past; if we are to prevent countries, often against their will, being driven to adopt these policies, means must be found immediately the war ends of providing them all with credits so that they are all in a position to buy. Of course this will only start the ball rolling. Things must always be paid for unless they are given as an outright gift. No monetary policy can enable a country to buy more than it can some time or another be expected to pay for in corresponding values of goods.

The demand for both capital goods and for consumer goods in the post-war world should be very great indeed. In Europe with a devastated continent, not only will there be a demand for food, but there should also be a heavy demand for farm machinery, trucks and all kinds of electrical supplies and so on. And in Asia and Africa the markets for all those things are relatively limitless. It is true to say that here in Canada there are great undeveloped markets. Our housing and general living standards are a long way from what they could easily be. In Europe, and particularly in Asia and Africa, the demand is infinitely greater, all that needs to be done is to make the real demand an effective demand.

The backward countries will need at first principally capital goods. Goods which will enable them to transform their agriculture in the way once backward Russia transformed her agriculture. Those countries need railroads and electric power schemes, flour mills and packing plants and all sorts of other capital goods. As the standards of living in those countries rise,

so also will rise the demand for consumer goods from countries such as Canada.

What should be done then, is to help those backward countries to get on their feet industrially. The way to do that is for the governments of the advanced countries to extend generous credits to the backward ones. And not only can we supply them with the machines for this purpose but we can also export technicians to operate the machines and to teach the natives of those countries how to operate them for themselves. In so doing, these experts can get their pay out of the increased supply of goods which the machines can produce.

If the advanced countries such as Canada do not export machines what else can they export. Not until living standards in the backward countries are raised by the only means they can be raised—that is by machine production—will the inhabitants of those countries be able to buy consumer goods. They will remain too poor to do so.

Returning to our own domestic sphere, let us consider what the role of the government should be in the provision of jobs. Should the government merely see that monetary means are taken to ensure jobs for all and let supply and demand determine which those jobs will be. Or should the government interfere to the extent of planning so as to ensure that workers do the jobs for which they are best suited and which are best suited to provide for the genuine needs of the people.

The primary need today is to win the war. The government, in order to serve that need, of necessity had not only to control the volume of production but had also to direct the labor power where it could best serve the need in the production of war material. In the post-war period the government will require to direct the labor power in such a way as to ensure that the needful goods are produced.

Agricultural production must be planned by our government in peace as it is in war and the government must guarantee to the farmer a fair price as well as a market for his produce. Just as it is possible to determine how much flour must be produced for domestic and foreign consumption today, so must the production of wheat, oats, barley, corn, flax, vegetables and so on be planned and markets determined when the war ends.

Today our wheat goes to feed the men and women in the Armed Forces, to meet the ever-growing demands of the domestic market that for the first time since 1939 has the money to buy farm products.

Today convoys carry our farm products to Britain, Russia and China. As we begin to reconquer occupied territories, our farm products will be needed in starving Europe, in India and other parts of the world.

Not only our farm products but new clothing and all the countless other commodities we manufacture will be required by the people of these areas.

The Atlantic Charter guaranteed all peoples the necessities of life. The meeting of the big three at Teheran guaranteed further that there shall be co-operation between the United Nations in peace as well as in war. If we take this to be self-evident, what a golden opportunity this pledge affords us to help the unfortunates of other lands and in doing this we would be able to maintain full production.

It is not enough to fight and die with people; it is a far greater privilege to live peaceably with them and share our abundance.

We will be repaid, not only in goodwill, but in full employment, in full use of all our productive capacities for use, not for destruction.

This is our aim.

Can Democracy Plan For Peace?

There are people who are afraid of a planned economy. Why? Because planning benefits the many, for the collective good. Sometimes this means that those who have much of the world's goods have to relinquish portions of it in higher taxes, restrictions levelled to prevent overlapping and duplication of goods, and many other restrictions necessary. These evil men tell us that we must beware of social change or radical movements. They use the much misused term "socialism" as a scare and would create the impression in the minds of the Canadian people that in order to get all the human needs we have discussed entails revolution, violence, etc. Full page ads appear in our newspapers, our radios blare forth messages by large corporations, banks, insurance companies, all trying to warn us against the people who advocate what they call radical change but what is in reality the minimum necessities required for an abundant life.

They extol the virtues of private enterprise, even though most of these men don't actually believe in free, private enterprise.

What they actually mean is that enterprise should be free to be socially irresponsible and

that planning, if any, should be done by private business for its own aggrandizement.

Unfortunately those foolish enough to advocate such selfishness are still very much in evidence.

But just think of what we might have missed had we planned our economy. All the thrill which a million and one-half people on relief must have had during the last depression would have been missed by them; farmers would never have enjoyed the growing of grain below production costs. Nor would they have had the exquisite thrill that comes with seeing the sheriff camping on one side of the door and the wolf on the other.

The complacent belief of those who hold the selfish view is that somehow we will muddle through and that through some miracle everything will come out alright in the end. For these people—and some of them are well meaning—accidents and chances are the reliable principles by which they govern themselves.

It need hardly be said that planning in itself is only a means to an end. The all-important thing is the end sought. The end is security and abundance for all the people. The economy of a nation may be planned by monopolists for their own profit or it may be planned by the people for the welfare of all and the satisfying of their needs. No doubt Canada will have planning of one sort or another after the war, but if that planning is motivated by the same reasoning that prevailed before the war, industry will be planned by those who own the means of production so as to make greater profits, or it will be planned by the people for a better standard of living. It is this latter sort of planning that we should have.

Some men in the past always did scheme and plan to take advantage of their competitors; they always did plan their own business with a view to their own profit. Usually the better their plans succeeded the worse it was for the people.

There has never been a clearer picture of a planless society than that presented in a book entitled "The Russian Primer." This book was widely circulated in Canada because of its unquestioned pedagogical merit. The following is a classic description of how business was done in our society.

The Story With A Moral

"Mr. Fox acquires money—one million dollars. But money must not remain idle. Mr. Fox looks through newspapers, he consults friends, he employs agents. From morning till night the agents

comb the city, look about, and make enquiries. What is to be done with the money of Mr. Fox?

"At last a business is found. Hats! That is what one should make. Hats sell: men get rich.

"There is nothing to hesitate about. Mr. Fox builds a hat factory.

"The same idea occurs at the same time to Mr. Box and Mr. Crox and Mr. Nox. And they all begin to build hat factories simultaneously.

"Within half a year there are several new factories in the country. Shops are filled to the ceiling with hat-boxes. Storerooms are bursting with them. A great many more hats are made than are needed—twice as many, three times as many. And the factories continue to work at full speed.

"And here something happens that neither Mr. Fox, nor Mr. Box, nor Mr. Crox, nor Mr. Nox anticipated. The public stops buying hats. Mr. Nox lowers his price twenty cents; Mr. Crox forty cents; Mr. Fox sells hats at a loss in order to get rid of them. But business grows worse and worse. In all the papers advertisements appear:

"You may have only one head, but that does not mean at all that you should wear only one hat. Every citizen should have three hats. Buy the hats of Mr. Fox!"

"Mr. Box offers to sell hats on a three-year instalment plan.

"Mr. Nox announces a sale:

"Only for one day! Take advantage of this opportunity!"

"But this does not help. Mr. Fox lowers the wages of his workers one dollar a week. Mr. Crox lowers the wages two dollars a week. Again business grows worse and worse.

"All at once—stop! Mr. Fox closes his factory. Two thousand workers are discharged and permitted to go wherever they please. The following day the factory of Mr. Nox stops. In a week practically all hat factories are standing idle. Thousands of workers are without work. New machines grow rusty. Buildings are sold for wreckage.

"A year or two passes. The hats bought from Nox, Fox, Box and Crox wear out. The public once more begins to buy hats. Hat stores become empty. From the top shelves dusty cartons are taken down. There are not enough hats. Prices of hats go up.

"And now, not Mr. Fox, but a certain Mr. Doodle, thinks of a profitable business—the building of a hat factory. The same idea also enters the heads of other wise and business-like people—Mr. Boodle, Mr. Foodle and Mr. Noodle. And the old story begins over again.

"The experience with hats is repeated with shoes, with sugar, with pig iron, with coal, with kerosene. Factories are blown up like soap-bubbles and burst. One would think that people had lost their minds."

How true this picture is of our society before the war. It is the fear of the recurrence of this sort of aimless drifting that is worrying people today, and making them sure that there is something seriously wrong with a society that functions in this haphazard fashion.



It is well enough to talk about planning and planned societies, but, you may ask, is this a practical way of life? Has this been tried before? Practical people tell us "That the proof of the pudding is in the eating." Let us look at

a planned society, a society that has reached the ultimate in planning—Socialism. We are going to make a study of life in the Soviet Union for two reasons. Firstly, because that country is a living example of a planned economy that has proven its mettle, and, secondly, to establish once and for all exactly what is meant by the much misused word Socialism, as it functions in its most all-embracing form and manifestations.

It is not the political system of Russia, however, that we would suggest that our people adopt here in Canada, but rather the science of social planning that we would do well to heed and take cognizance of.

Well was it for the world that Russia was planning through the years while most of us laughed at the idea of trying to plan a national economy. It was her years of planning which enabled her to meet the German invaders on more than equal terms and thus to become a major factor in deciding the world issue against Nazism for all nations and all mankind. The achievements of Russia, which without planning would have been impossible, have at least wiped the smiles

of derision from the faces of the erstwhile mockers.

Social planning is a fact in the life of the great Union of Socialist Soviet Republics which covers one-sixth of the entire planet. We must go to Russia for the science of social planning. And there should be no more hesitancy about that than there was in our going to Russia to learn how to preserve the human blood to be used in transfusion cases at the battle front. It is perhaps true in some cases that parents who would be very glad that their sons' lives had been saved through the Russian discovery of blood preservation, still deny their sons and their sons' children that economic justice and that fuller life of which Russia is also the pioneer.

Russia is the only nation in the world that has ever made and followed a social plan. There is no more reason why we should go to Pavlov or other noted Russian scientists for study of their discoveries in their particular branches of science than that we should go to Lenin and Stalin to study their discoveries in the social sciences.

The success of social planning in Russia can no longer be denied even in our most reactionary press. Nazi Germany's invading forces have not only been filled with bullets from well planned and well directed Russian guns, but her defeated armies have been driven back to her own borders filled with surprise. Every democratic nation on earth has had good reason to thank Soviet Russia. They have all been unstinting in their praise of the victorious Red Army.

An ounce of Soviet fact is worth a million tons of a fool's frothy, fear-inspiring assumptions and speculations. Pre-revolutionary Russia had all the resources, all the manpower that were available for the U.S.S.R. And there was the same need for the essentials of life. Yet there was neither economic security nor anything which could be called liberty during the Czarist regime. Under a Socialist regime, however, social planning has achieved in a very few years an efficient economic system which serves the people, supplies their needs, inspires them with great zeal for distinction and heroism unequalled in war, and which is supported whole-heartedly by nearly two hundred million people who are more proud to be members of the U.S.S.R. than the masses of the Canadian people could be of a country that sank to the depths of the 1932 depression and sent its youth over highways and byways to look for bread and a place to sleep.

Here is a brief sketch of how Russians plan, which will assist the readers to envisage the actuality of the proceedings.

Where Workers Are Partners In Planning

The basis for any planned economy, is, first of all, to assess the natural resources and the means of converting those resources into useful goods. The plan must extend over a period of years as exemplified by the different five-year plans. Every factory and every industry must tabulate and send in to the planning bodies estimates and details of the possible production for the coming year. When the planning boards have been given the necessary information the general plan for the period is sketched and passed back to the workers and the management of the various industries. If any fault is found in the preliminary plan or any objection is taken to any part of it that objection is carefully registered; if there are proposals to be made they too are recorded. Then the plan is sent back to what we might call a central planning board for revision. When completed it is submitted to the government as representing all of the people for final endorsement, whereupon it is sent back to the various industries to be implemented.

The important factors entering into a plan are factual experience in connection with production, distribution and finance, estimates of production capacity, supplies of material, and available skilled labor.

The following table taken from the "Control Figures of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R." will show the scope of the general field covered by the plan in Soviet Russia.

- National Income and its Distribution
- Progress of Socialization
- Co-operatives
- Production of fuel and electricity
- Labor Conditions
- New Capital Construction
- Industry
- Agriculture
- Transport
- Prices
- Conditions of Equilibrium of the Market
- Trade Turnover
- Financial System
- Socio-Cultural Construction and Service
- The U.S.S.R. and World Economy (foreign trade)

A book of 700 pages is required to cover the important details of all the given branches of national and international economy. The infor-

mation touching each branch is not only tabulated, it is used. And it is used not only by the officials of government or the chief planning board, it is used by every worker's union in the U.S.S.R.

Democracy In Action

It will be observed that the working people not only help through their factory unions, to furnish the information upon which the plan is based, and in making the plan itself, they take the responsibility of making the plan effective. And that phase of the operation has quite as much to do with the democratic nature of the plan as the manner of making it. Indeed, under their planned economy there are no working people in any nation on earth who have as much to do with the production, distribution and financing of the national economy as the common people of Russia. And for a people to have responsibilities in these matters, means that they are exercising some of the most fundamental principles of a democracy.

In our countries at present responsibility for the programs of production are in the private hands of Big Business, or the individual competing interests, as the case may be. That is plain industrial dictatorship. Under Socialism with its planned economy every industrial worker and every farmer has a say in the industrial plan.

The Russian people took over the plans. They made them their own. They accepted the responsibility for making the plans work. They wanted to increase their living standards. They knew that there was only one way to do that and that was to increase production. They wanted to defend their land and their way of life against the anticipated aggressors and they knew that the only way to do that was to increase production. For the first time in history the people of a great nation were actually working for themselves. Talk about initiative! There it was to be found at its highest peak. Throughout every factory and farm there swept such a spirit of enthusiasm and determination to overcome their difficulties of building a people's social order as has never been known before, and which brought to actuality greater achievements in shorter time than was ever recorded in the world's history.

This is perhaps the secret weapon that they are using so well to defend their land inch by inch, house by house, street by street. For having planned and built their country they feel that they are defending something that is part and parcel of their very being.



But we shall have something to say about initiative later. Meanwhile the story of labor's contribution to the five-year plans must be told. All Unions in Russia are organized on an industrial basis. There are 182 of these unions.

Almost every man and woman in factory or mine are members of their appropriate industrial union. This is the very sort of organization which Hitler destroyed first, this and the co-operatives because they are both democratic. These unions in Russia are responsible for making the five-year plans successful; they are the democratic bodies which at this moment are carrying out a functional democracy in the U.S.S.R.

The Unions are actual partners with the management in planning and in carrying out the National Plan. These Unions share in the responsibility of the national production; they join with the management in fixing the wages. As production increased their wages increased until they had ample for a healthy life, a little leisure, two weeks holiday with pay. But these working men knew that they must not stop to eat up all they now produced. They planned to set aside part of production for the security of their country; part for replacement and for new capital; and they were planning when the war came to extend all cultural activities and services.

The essentially democratic nature of government in the U.S.S.R. is shown in the role played by these Trade Unions. Whereas in Germany the Trade Unions were destroyed, in Russia they were encouraged and now actually discharge many of the responsibilities carried by the Department of Labor in this country. The Central Council of Trade Unions has power to issue decrees on all matters connected with labor conditions in industry. That is, it is a law making body within its own sphere.

Collective bargaining in the sense of bargaining between employers and employees is unknown. The total wage fund of each industry is allocated by the State, so the Trade Unions are concerned only with wage adjustments and rates within the limits of the allocation. They are primarily concerned with increasing production and the welfare of the workers. The more produced the higher the wages will rise.

There is, as is now well known, no unemployment in Russia. Nor will there ever be. That problem is solved for all time. Social insurance

schemes provide free medical attention and hospitalization, free sickness and maternity benefits, free accident compensation and old age pensions. The worker does not directly contribute as the necessary funds are supplied by each industry. The sickness or compensation benefits that a worker receives vary from 50% to 100% of his normal wage. Non trade union members receive only half the normal benefit but this does not mean very much as the workers are virtually 100% union members. The unions are of the industrial type.

Before the war, the working week in the U.S.S.R. was one of five days. Every sixth day was a rest day. But since 1940 there has been a six-day week with the seventh day a rest day. The seven-hour day was the normal working day until 1940 when under the threat of war, it became eight hours. Today in the defense of their country, their factories, their farms, their railroads, their oil wells and refineries and all the rest of the means whereby they live, and which they own, those men are working to the limit of their powers without thinking about what hours they are working.

How The Union Functions

The membership of the Unions is composed of women as well as men. There is no objection to women entering any trade or profession. There being complete equality of the sexes, there is no difference in rates of pay. Nurseries and kindergartens are provided, of course, so that married women have freedom to do any sort of work they want to do.

Although Russia is a classless society by virtue of the fact that there is no propertied and employing class on the one hand, and employed class on the other, nevertheless there is considerable difference in pay received by the workers. Payment is chiefly on a piece-work basis. Writers, artists, actors and scientists are among the highest paid workers, with technicians and officials coming next. Some of the outstanding workers known as Stakhanovites, who have been responsible for developments in technique which has resulted in saving of labor and material, get greatly higher rates of pay than the average.

The trade union of any particular industry negotiates with the industrial managements on all matters relating to the work and working conditions of its members. And in each factory the factory committee negotiates the more minor details of those matters with its own management.

These agreements fix the time, rate scales for the different categories of workers, the classes to be paid on a piece-rate basis, and the relationship to be maintained between the normal earnings of piece workers and time workers. The conditions under which overtime is permitted, and the payment for overtime, are stipulated. Also determined are the conditions of engagement and dismissal. Then agreements are effected covering training, working conditions, safety measures and accident prevention. Also arranged are matters such as canteens, provision of working clothes and washing accommodation, factory clubs, sports fields and workers' housing.

Also included in most agreements is a clause which binds the management to give proper consideration to proposals made by committees or by individual workers, and to award premiums for worthwhile inventions and improvements.

Then the factory committee undertakes to co-operate with the management in enforcing discipline among the workers, in overcoming absenteeism and in watching against theft and for the protection of socialist property.

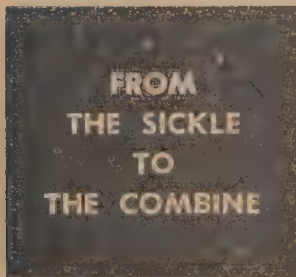
It is not correct to say, as is sometimes said, that trade union membership is compulsory in the sense that it is a condition of employment. But trade union membership carries with it privileges which virtually ensure 100% membership of all but casual and migrating workers, such as those engaged in building trades and agricultural workers. Be it noted again that whereas Germany under Fascism destroyed the unions, in Russia they have been encouraged and given powers far beyond any other country. In almost all capitalist countries, trade unions had to wage a long struggle before their governments gave them legal standing.

In the early twenties there were twenty-two unions altogether. But those have since been subdivided until today there are more than 160. The membership of the Russian trade unions stands at more than 22,000,000 or 84% of all wage and salary earners.

The basic unit of the union is the meeting of union members in a factory. This meeting elects annually its factory committee. For each district there is a district committee, elected by a congress of delegates from each factory. Then, periodically a national delegate conference is held which elects a central committee of the whole union. And for the whole country there is an All Union Central Committee, elected at a general trade union congress, which generally meets every second year and consists of between 1,000 and 2,000 delegates.

So we see that the trade unions are independent and democratic organs of the working class, subject to the principle of election, and whose functions are to protect the wages and working conditions of their members, to co-operate with the management in the interests of production, and to discharge the responsibilities in connection with social insurance and factory inspection which had previously been in the hands of the State through its Commissariat of Labor.

Here we see the important contribution made by labor in a planned economy, when labor is given an equal share in the production and management of industry. How healthy it is for the well-being of any nation when all citizens have a responsible share in the management of society. Indeed every citizen then feels like an honored member of that society.



Another partner, and a very important and honored member of a planned society, is the farmer. We discussed his plight in Canada, earlier in the booklet. The farmer in Canada has seen good years and bad. His future is de-

pendent upon economic conditions as a whole, and the solution to his many vexing problems is closely interlocked with the solution to the ills confronting the worker, the miner, the office worker and in fact every member of our society.

It is interesting therefore, to study the transformation that took place in the field of agriculture in Soviet Russia, and see how planning solved a very serious problem, overcoming tremendous obstacles. Because Canada and Russia are agricultural countries the story Russian agriculture tells is worth noting.

Of all the stupendous achievements of Soviet Russia none is greater than her transformation of agriculture.

In 1928 ninety-seven per cent of all the land in this huge country—covering one-sixth of the world's land surface—was tilled by individual peasants farming their little plots in the most primitive fashion. Half of the seeding was done by hand and more than a third of the harvesting was done with the sickle and flail.

By 1937 only one per cent of the land was

farmed in this manner. On all the rest, the crops were sown and harvested with the aid of the most modern machinery. As a result, yields were greatly increased. Indisputable figures show that the average harvest of all crops for the years 1933 to 1937 exceeded that for the years 1926 to 1932 by 28% whilst the average yield per acre jumped 21%.

The old peasant farms averaged less than eight acres in size and were in long, narrow strips. And even at that, many were not all in one piece but were in scattered strips sometimes only a few rods wide. By contrast the new collective farms average over 1,000 acres in size.

The collective farmer of today no longer scatters his seed on top of the earth, depending on chance to make it grow. No longer does he and his family break their backs bending over to cut the grain with a sickle or flop a flail up and down all day long to separate the grain from the straw and chaff. Never in the long history of man's struggle to lift the burden of labor off his own shoulders did the shift take place so quickly or on such a scale.

And as men everywhere are but reflections of their environment, so the Russian peasant, changing his environment, is rapidly changing himself. The old type, kept at a brutish level by his brutish toil and grinding poverty, is fast disappearing. No longer does he turn to vodka and superstitious rites for escape from the misery that was his. Working like the farmer on this continent he is becoming like our farmers.

Everyone will agree that it is better to farm land with modern machinery instead of with primitive tools. Everyone also will agree that it was a great step forward to introduce those machines to Russia. But many still think that it was a step backward that Russia took when she collectivized the land. They believe that modern machinery plus private ownership was what she needed.

The trouble was that the Russian peasants couldn't have both. Nor for that matter can any of the European peasantry have both. They must choose between one or the other. How could modern power machinery be used on eight-acre farms? How could horse or even ox power be economically used on those garden patches they called farms? As a matter of fact, many old-time peasants owned neither a horse nor an ox, whilst some had but a half share in one. Ask any Western farmer, who has been accustomed to using an iron horse, which he would prefer—private ownership of eight acres, an ox, a sickle and a

flail, or collective ownership in a 1,000-acre farm with tractors and combine complete and he won't stop to think before he gives an answer.

But, as has been said, we are all creatures of an environment. And we all incline very definitely to hold fast to our traditional way of life. Just as the Canadian farmer would object strongly to going back to the ox as his source of power and also would object to any change in the system of land ownership and operation, so the Russian peasant did not at first take kindly to the change to power machines and collective farms. He preferred the old ways. They were all he had known. He was suspicious of the oil drinking contraptions that could plow more land in an hour than he could dig in a month. But he fears them no longer. He now knows that it is better to stand up straight and to take the wheel of a tractor than it is to go around bent over double wiping the sweat out of his eyes.

But great though the benefits of land collectivization have been to the Russian peasant, this was not the chief reason for the rapid transformation which took place. Had it not been for the urgent necessity of greatly increasing the food supply, the change would have taken place much more gradually and in greater conformity to the traditional attitudes of the peasant himself.

Men Can't Work Or Fight Without Food

The country was being industrialized. And it had to be industrialized very quickly if Russia was going to be in a position to defend herself against the mechanized might she knew one day would be directed against her. Factories were springing up everywhere. More and more country people were flocking to the cities and if the industrial program was to succeed the land had to be made more productive. And not only was the grain needed to feed the greatly increased city population, but it was also needed to exchange with other countries for machine tools. And the old strip farming just couldn't fill the bill.

We hear from all our statesmen, politicians and journalists continual reiteration of the fact that food is one of the prime essentials for winning the war. And it is, of course.

But why do those men not admit their error when with one voice they denounced Russia for taking the action that ensured the food supply both for peace, for the preparation for war, and for the war itself. Where would we be today if

Russia had not collectivized her farms in the thirties, thereby taking the only action possible to ensure that supply of food that was, and is, so essential?

In the Great War, Russia only quit fighting when her soldiers and civilian population were literally starving for food. Her soldiers and civilians would be starving today if instead of the collective might of the farmers with their ten bottom steel plows and sixteen foot combines they had behind them, as in Czarist days, the wooden plow, the sickle and the prayers.

So we see that collectivizing the land helped the peasant to a more human life. It fed the city people so that the tanks and planes and guns could be produced. It has enabled the battles to be fought and the material provided which have played such a noble part in saving civilization for us all and those who will follow us.

What Does A Farmer Get Out Of A Collective Farm?

In Russia, when a peasant joined a collective, his land, working animals, if he had any, and his tools were added to the general collective fund. He was allowed to keep, as his private property, a certain number of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and chickens. He was also allowed a garden of from half an acre to two acres, the produce of which he was, and is, permitted to sell on the market. If he decides at any time to leave the collective, he is entitled to a grant of land similar in area to that which he contributed, but which must be outside the bounds of the collective.

The cattle and horses were housed in the new collective buildings erected for that purpose. The government advanced special credits to assist the collective to get started. Then a mass meeting of all working members was held and a committee of general management elected. In addition, when considered advisable, other committees were elected to take charge of certain specific activities. The number of families included in a collective varied considerably and in some cases ran to over a thousand. Every collective has its own canteen, or co-operative store, children's nursery and club rooms and many already have their own movie theatres. So the mothers can have a freedom denied them before by being able to leave their young children in the safety of the nursery whenever they desire. They, like the men, can enjoy the friendly companionship of the club rooms and can go to see the pictures in their own movie

theatre. And when they make their purchases at the canteen, they pay only for the goods and service they receive. Like members of co-operatives in this and other lands, they get service at cost, that is, minus profit.

The net proceeds of the farm are distributed at the end of the year, in kind and in cash, to all members on the basis of the number of work days contributed by each. Differences in the kind of work done are allowed for by grading some jobs at a higher equivalent in work day units than others. The following example of the distribution of the harvest for a typical collective farm in 1938 will show how it is allocated:

	Percentage
1. Obligatory deliveries to the State	15
2. Payment to machine and tractor station....	16
3. Refund of loan from state saving fund.....	2
4. To reserve (sowing fund plus forage fund)	21.7
5. Social fund (invalid and nursery, etc.).....	13.1
6. Sold to co-operatives or on market.....	5.1
7. Dividend in kind to members.....	26.9

The obligatory deliveries to the state grain trust, which are paid for at special low prices, constitute the tax levied by the government on the collective. And it is to be noted that the quota is fixed in advance, on the basis of the estimated yield, and also of particular significance is the fact that in cases of crop failure the payment is cancelled. This is a recognition of the fact that crop failure is the responsibility of all and not just of the unfortunate individuals who happen to have done the work and received little or no return. In this country drought, hail, grasshoppers, wind or rust come and go but taxes and mortgage interest go on undisturbed and piling up.

The payment to the machine and tractor station is also in kind. Those stations are operated by the government and their machines do all the plowing, seeding, harvesting and general cultivation.

It can be seen that the first four items could be considered production costs while the last three constitute the share received by the member directly or indirectly. And of course, what is paid to the government in taxes is used for the benefit of all and does not sink into unearned incomes.

However, the basic fact that emerges from a dispassionate examination of the workings of the Russian collectives is that all authorities are agreed that the system has resulted in a greatly increased output, a markedly improved standard of peasant living, together with a vastly greater personal liberty. It provides a far stronger in-

centive to produce, and, above all, it develops the social attitude in place of the ignorantly selfish attitude of old. In developing that social attitude to life it gives opportunity and encouragement to a far truer individualism than that so far attained anywhere.



Now we come to a phase in a balanced society that is a question frequently uppermost in the minds of most people. How can a planned society finance its vast schemes of construction. Here again we must turn to the

U.S.S.R. Maurice Dobb, the distinguished English economist, in his "Soviet Economy and the War," has the following to say:

"People ask how the U.S.S.R. has managed to finance its vast schemes of construction, and how she is financing her immense war effort and her armaments program. But to ask the question in this form is really to put the cart before the horse. It is quite true that in a free market economy the method of financing an investment program or a war is crucial; since production follows the market, production can usually be switched round only when financial operations have achieved the necessary transfer of purchasing power. But even in capitalist countries nowadays attempts are made under stress of war conditions to short-circuit the effects of such financial operations by measures of direct control of production through the rationing of essential supplies and by control of the movement of labor. In a fully planned economy, however, production is subject to direct, and not merely indirect, control; and once the plan has solved the problem of output and the transfer of productive resources, finance follows in the wake of production as an obedient camp follower.

"The two major items in the Soviet budget today are the financing of national economy (i.e., new investment) and defense expenditures. In the 1940 budget the former accounted for 57 billion rubles and the latter for 56 billion out of a total of 173 billion. (Most of the remainder was absorbed by 'social and cultural services,' amounting to 41 billion.) If we look at the revenue side of the budget, what is surprising is the unimportance of two sources of revenue which play such a leading role in other countries: direct taxation and loans issued to the public.

"Many would, perhaps, have expected loans, as a means of tapping private savings, to have contributed at least a substantial part of the capital required to finance the development of the national economy. Actually these provide no more than 11 billion, or less than a fifth of the capital investment financed out of the budget. The reason evidently is that in a socialist economy, where millionaires no longer exist, it is as impracticable as it would be contrary to principle to rely to any major extent on private savings for the provision of capital. The fact that the number of outsize incomes to be attacked by a graduated income tax is negligible is also a reason why direct taxation plays an even smaller role than loans.

"By far the largest item in the Soviet budget is the turnover tax, which amounts to the figure of nearly 106 billion rubles, or between a half and two-thirds of the total revenue. The position is that the turnover tax and the receipts from loans combined about equal the amount spent in capital investment and defense expenditure. Profits on state trade and industry (amounting to 21.4 billion) and direct taxes, with a few minor items, are left to finance the other categories of expenditure. When it is regarded in the light of what we have said above, the size of the turnover tax is less surprising than at first sight it appears. It is simply an expression of the fact that in an economy where wages and salaries are the only (at least the main) form of personal incomes, and the amount of individual saving is small because incomes are fairly equal, the decision to maintain a given volume of investment (or some other form of production, such as armaments, which does not augment the current output of consumable goods) will *ipso facto* tend to produce a margin between industrial costs and selling prices sufficient to provide the finance for that investment.

"If one likes to speak of it in such terms, one can describe the turnover tax as the chief form that the 'savings' of the community assume, 'savings' which correspond to the investment that is being undertaken by the State.

"One final word should perhaps be said about the manner in which the Soviet economic plan is actually drawn up. While this plan is in large part the work of a permanent commission (or rather network of commissions) of economists and experts, called the State Planning Commission, or Gosplan, it is wrong to think of the plan as something that is simply thought up by experts and government officials and then imposed on all State employees by decree. The construction of the plan is a complex and long-drawn-out process, in which a surprisingly wide circle of people take a part and in the course of which a good deal of

initiative and constructive suggestion comes from below. In the first place it will be the subject of detailed discussion, not only with all government departments, but also, as we have seen, with the trade unions, while the political aspects of the plan will be discussed both throughout the Soviet Union and in the press.

"Once again we point out that in Soviet economy the ordinary workers and salaried staffs of industry are not just the passive servants of an official policy, constructed by planning experts or by party leaders at the top, but are both trained and organized to participate in the discussion and concrete criticism of policy before it is made, which is largely responsible for a feature of the present war that has, again, surprised most Western observers; the very high degree of initiative, as well as of morale and of enthusiasm, that has been shown by the mass of ordinary people, whether among the army or air force or guerrilla fighters or in the factory or in ordinary civilian life."

Plan Or Perish

As has been pointed out in this chapter, for lessons in planning the world must look to Russia. She has found the way of giving intelligent guidance to a nation's economy, guidance toward a collective purpose in which everyone is vitally concerned. Security for a nation is a social, not an individual achievement.

Plan or perish will be the watch-words of tomorrow. War has hastened the popular demand for planning the national life. For as the past president of the Royal Institute of British Architects has so well said, "In these days of war, countless admitted failures in organization and administration have undermined our national superstition that Almighty God is always on the side of the man who refuses to plan."



In our countries we are headed for chaos if we don't proceed at once to re-examine the past as we have been doing here, and in that light plan the future. It is not a question of terminologies and ideologies—it is only a question

of the fundamental things in life that count. The immediate things that face us on the day war

ends. As most men are agreed that we are fighting against something, to destroy once and for all the cancer that has grown and infected a great part of the European continent, so are many determined that we are fighting for something—a way of life that will enable us to contribute in the fullest measure to the community in which we live, and derive from life the fullest measure of happiness and abundance that technology, science and our own skill can furnish for us and our neighbours.

These necessities are not luxuries, but they are costly nevertheless, for men down through the ages have given their lives to prevent other men from taking these necessities away from them and where necessary have given their lives to wrest these necessities from stubborn, brutal, stupid governments that were too short-sighted to afford the people these human needs. As we have seen, these things are health, comfortable homes, ample clothing, food, old age in comfort, education for all, in other words, these are the freedoms from fear and freedoms from want that the American President has set forth must be the birthright of every child born. The other human rights are the guarantees that every man may worship in his own way, may be free from persecution because of race, color or creed, freedom of expression in personal life and public life. These are the third and fourth freedoms. Very elemental, aren't they? And yet without these, no nation can be really free, nor its citizens happy.

Who promised that these things shall be? Not radicals, socialists and the like, but two defenders of the status quo, who are human enough and practical enough to know that patriotic slogans are not sufficient incentives for men to die for. There is only one guarantee that these things shall not remain empty promises and that guarantee is the people themselves, for if sufficient people will understand and will want to see these promises implemented, they will be made the laws of the land.

In the past, however, private enterprise has shown that there are times when it cannot provide the necessities of life. Because we have experienced many such periods in our recent history before the war, we have a right to ask whether or not this planless economy will guarantee security to those people at present in war jobs (as the Hon. Humphrey Mitchell says, those two million men and women who are at present engaged in industries that never existed before the war came and probably will cease to exist before the war ends), and to those men and women

fighting for democracy on all fronts of the world; we have a right to ask whether or not we can continue on this necessary "war footing" in order to destroy once and for all the enemy on the home front—unemployment, slums, disease, and all the other fears that haunted Canadians for years before September, 1939.

The war has proven that when there is a reason for full production, that necessitates the mobilizing of all resources, human, natural and physical for survival, that we are capable of creating at least a semblance of that security for all people.

This necessitated a great deal of regimentation. The government had to tell the people who should work and who must fight; what materials are to be produced and at what prices; what job you should work in and when you shall leave that job. It controlled incomes and expenditures, it raised funds by compulsory savings, war loans and by curtailing unnecessary spending. Thus it was only in an emergency and at that with a great deal of misgivings on the part of those who stood the greatest loss by high taxation and excess profits and so on, that we are able to win through to victory.

The question therefore is if our united effort was brought about by the necessity of war, why can we not transplant that incentive for a peaceful one, namely security and abundance and happiness? That is a big question. The answer to that question is that certain rugged individualists are anxiously waiting to get back to the old way of living. These people tell us that planning entails regimentation, government control, destroys initiative. Well, let us re-examine the facts.

At one stage during the great depression there were approximately one million people unemployed in Canada. Some of these were on "relief;" that is, they were receiving doles from the state; others were in camps scattered over the Dominion. These worked for practically nothing. In most instances their work was "created" work, that is work that could have been done better and much more quickly by machinery. The idea of allowing the unemployed to do it was presumably to save their self-respect by making them think they were doing essential work and earning their living thereby.

But there were thousands of others who for one reason or another were not sent to the camps—they did not qualify for relief, whatever that might have meant. They had no hope at all except to beg or steal or to stand in line before a soup kitchen of one or the other of the charitable institutions. During this demoralizing period there

came into use the phrase "city jungle" where thousands of derelict human beings sought shelter in dug-outs, and in precarious homes built of packing boxes or any other sort of material which could be picked up and formed into some sort of shelter. Well kept dogs were much better provided for than these people were. These are facts which every person over twenty years of age will still remember and shudder at the memory.

But these are not the only facts which could be enumerated as tending to destroy initiative. Take, for example, the workers who work for wages in one of the great industries even in war time. Does anyone wonder after reading the story of Shipshaw that the aluminum workers went on strike? Was it not their initiative which drove them to strike for better conditions? And yet every power of industry and of the government, is used to prevent the workers from exercising their initiative in this way.

International Nickel made a gross profit of \$24,000,000 in the first nine months of 1942. Would it not have given a greater incentive to the workers in that industry if those profits had all been used by the people of Canada in their struggle against the Nazi menace? Initiative is the impulse of survival. It does not die even under the most adverse conditions which an old, outworn system imposes. Rather it seeks new ways of expression. Unemployed demonstrations, formation of the industrial unions, the improvising of shelters in "city jungles" are all examples of initiative struggling for survival under conditions which would have killed initiative if it could have been killed.

But initiative in the past often has been a very dangerous thing. It was nearly always anti-social and was carried to the point where it not only played havoc socially, but destroyed the free private enterpriser as well.

Perhaps the best example of unadulterated free private enterprise initiative has been practised by the inmates of the penitentiaries. In the main, they regard themselves as free and very private enterprisers. They devote their initiative to cracking safes, holding up banks, forging cheques, and in numerous other ways of anti-social activities. Society, naturally, does not approve of these forms of free private enterprise, hence our police force and our penitentiaries.

But initiative under free enterprise in the past tended to be similarly anti-social. It was quite immoral, if not illegal. There will come a time in the development of our society when getting away with a power site or securing a deposit of

oil or of iron ore, or creating a monopoly by means of which the unbridled exploitation of the people may be effected, will be regarded as being as illegal and immoral as the robbing of a bank or the forging of a cheque.

We might illustrate what a responsible government, anxious to carry out its pledge to the people, can do, by the fact that the President and Vice-President of the United States have ordered investigations of cartel organizations. These investigations have proven the anti-social alignments of some of these unbridled free enterprisers. It is significant when Vice-President Henry Wallace finds it in the public interest to tour up and down the United States addressing public meetings and exposing these international monopolists to the American people and warning the people that they must unite against them.

But unfortunately the common man is not strong enough nor has he reached the point of development where he can rid the world of this type of anti-social procedure. The common man is ready, however, to unite with all elements in the community who understand the necessity for restraining and curtailing the power of these irresponsible giants who will not co-operate with their fellow men in the best interests of the nation; through unity they can force the socially irresponsible individuals to submit to planning and thus help to give enterprise the freedom it really needs, freedom from irresponsibility.

The Kind Of Initiative That Threatens Our Survival

Initiative needs the controlling influence of a social purposes. The common welfare alone can provide that purpose.

The facts brought to light by the Thurman Arnold commission which investigated war production and war contracts in the United States are illuminating. These show that the initiative for profit and for industrial supremacy in the post-war world stood right across the road of national survival.

The Thurman Arnold report says: "Great care must be taken to assure that we do not destroy the American way of life by adopting the wrong methods of defending them."

The report also states that three-fourths of all war contracts were let to 86 concerns; 15 large companies received 60 per cent of all Navy contracts; 20 industrial centers received about 60

per cent of all contracts. In other words, the initiative to grab which is fostered by free private enterprise failed to co-ordinate production on a scale necessary to achieve maximum output.

Further substantiation of this came from the U.S.A. Senate Committee report in 1942. It tells us that 56 firms received 75 per cent of contracts, 6,000 other firms got the rest and 178,174 got nothing and were idle. Subsequently, most of these obtained sub contracts on the terms of the Big 56. Of the latter, the Thurman Arnold committee declared: "It is clear that their competitive position in the economy of the nation is being vastly improved by the war, and at a time, moreover, when tens of thousands of small business men are being forced to stop production while they watch the value of their plants destroyed and perhaps see their machinery seized and transplanted to the plants of large defense contract holders."

This prompts us to ask—what about the initiative of these small business men? Presumably, it will manifest itself in wriggling as the small ones are swallowed by the great. But since the free private enterprise initiative of 56 of the larger concerns was the means of putting 178,174 other firms out of production, that is not the sort of initiative to be safely recommended to any community especially in time of war.

The Thurman Arnold report goes on to show how large corporations took advantage of the public treasury from which they have received by the end of 1943 some 37½ billion dollars. And the report says in this connection that "The capital expenditures for plant improvement for defense purposes will ultimately provide the contracting corporations with some of the newest and finest machine tools and factory buildings practically free of charge."

It is all very well for Donald Nelson to say: "To hell with stopping to count the cost. Start turning out the stuff and we can argue the terms at our leisure." The trouble is that they did and do stop to count the cost. Canadian manufacturers stopped to count the cost when they refused to accept one single contract for the defense of Canada because profits had been fixed at 5 per cent. And be it remembered that the only means by which Canada could secure the weapons of her defense were in the hands of the few industrialists who, at that time, refused to use the resources, the factories and the banks for that purpose.

Once more let us quote the indictment of the former Assistant Attorney General of the U.S.A.: "Looking back over 10 months of defense effort

we can now see how much it has been hampered by the attitude of powerful private groups dominating basic industries who have feared to expand their production because expansion would endanger their future control of industry. These groups have been afraid to develop new production themselves. They have even been afraid to let others come into the field. They have concealed shortages by optimistic predictions of supplies and talked of production facilities which do not exist. Anti-trust investigations during the past year have shown that there is not an organized basic industry in the U.S.A. which has not been restricting production by some device or other in order to avoid what they call 'the ruinous over-production' after the war."

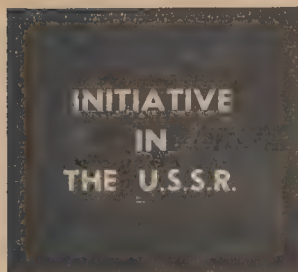
There we have the true picture of initiative yesterday and today. We have had no Thurman Arnold investigation in Canada. But who doubts that revelations similar to those disclosed in the U.S.A. would have been publicized here had similar investigations been held.

This is the sort of initiative our old order spawned and this is the sort of initiative some of our narrow-minded and reactionary business men who are not willing to learn the lessons of bygone years, as well as a section of our press, are afraid of losing if planning is introduced. The question is, can this anti-social, oligarchical method be allowed to exist side by side with true free enterprise—that is, the free enterprise that affords each and every man the right to earn a living through his own efforts as a business man or as a worker receiving wages sufficient to give him all the necessities of life.

Why should anyone in a community be free to be socially irresponsible. As we have pointed out earlier, the war has shown that we need a co-ordinated effort for military victory. We cannot win the peace without the same co-ordinated planning between governments, industry, labor and agriculture. Imagine what would happen if in our army little Caesars set themselves up to carry out their own plans, managing at the same time to force others to side with them, splitting the armed forces up into little units, each fighting its own way and none directing their shellfire at any particular target, thus driving the Generals mad trying to co-ordinate and manage an unruly mob. Would victory then be possible?

It is, of course, the duty of thinking people to meet the charge that this planning will destroy initiative; it is their task to prove both by facts and by reasoning from the premise that an abundant society will not only strengthen and encourage the initiative of the masses but will direct it

into nobler channels than that which was the practise of industrialists of holding up essential war production in order not to "endanger their future control of industry."



The achievements of the Russians in the field of battle are well known. There surely cannot be any person in Canada who is not aware of the great contribution which Russia has made to the defeat of Nazism.

Up until very recently she has borne the brunt of the battle against the main forces of the enemy. Russia took all that Germany could give, stopped the forces of Hitler at Leningrad, Moscow and Stalingrad, and since the immortal victory at Stalingrad has been driving the enemy back in a manner which has well earned the thanks and the admiration of the anti-Nazi world. Russia is a Socialist republic and her initiative is one of the marvels of all time.

It must be self-evident that the Russian victories in this world conflict could not have been possible no matter how brave and how well her armies were led into battle unless she also had a very high state of industrial efficiency. Her military exploits which cannot be hidden from the world only indicate the unity of purpose which made them possible. And these in turn bespeak the fighting spirit and the amazing initiative of her entire people.

But Russian achievements in this war have revealed the baseless lies which were told in the press of this country from the day of the revolution until the day when Germany declared war on the Soviet Union. When Germany struck Russia she met a foe which was as well prepared industrially, technically and in the science of war as she was herself. The economic system and the leadership which took the hopeless wreck of Czarism and in 25 years or so brought Russia to the front rank of the industrial nations of the world, performed the greatest industrial miracle of history.

This is not a paean of praise for the Russians. History will attend to that. This is the final answer to those whose criticism of that great land is dictated by ignorance and prejudice rather than by facts. Our daily press tells the people constantly that planning, state control, subordinating

the will of the minority for the will of the majority will destroy initiative. The answer is Russia. Is there even an editor of a daily paper who will say that Russia lacks initiative?

It is clear then that their system did not kill the initiative of the Russians. On the contrary, their way of life was the direct cause of stimulating the initiative of every citizen in that great land. And how was this done? Premier Stalin does not own a factory, a bank, a mine, or a power plant. He does not own anything which some of our people regard as the parents of initiative. Stalin does not receive a salary like the president of International Nickel, nor like that received by other industrial magnates in this and other countries. He does not receive a salary even like the President of the U.S.A., or like the Prime Minister of Canada. His income is even less than many technical and highly skilled workers in Russian factories receive. Yet will anyone say that Stalin lacks initiative? And Stalin is the personification of the Russian people. All the rest of them work and strive and achieve for exactly the same reasons.

The men and women who planned the whole economic set-up of the U.S.S.R. own no more than the common laborers in the factories and mines; the men who have directed the prodigious output of goods from the mines, the mills and the factories, do not own individually either mine or mill or factory to spur them on. And yet they go on with a speed, with a will, with a determination and with a spirit unequalled in any nation on earth.

Now some of you might say, does this not mean that in order for the Canadian people to have initiative on a par with the people of the U.S.S.R. it is necessary for the people to own all the means of production, natural resources, etc. Perhaps this is a very desirable and worthwhile goal. Common ownership may have been one of the basic reasons for the marvellous initiative shown by the Russian people, but this was not the only reason. The fact that the Russian people knew that their government was giving to them the basic human needs such as proper housing, culture, education, security in old age and sickness, free medical care, etc., and the fact that they co-operated with each other to make all these human benefits possible gave them this desired initiative and common purpose in peace as well as in war.

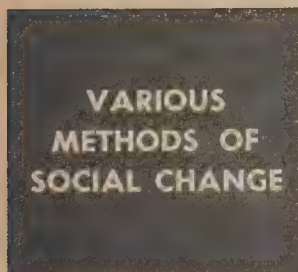
No one can deny that the Canadian people have shown great initiative in this war. This is made obvious by the tremendous increase in production on the part of our workers and farmers.

This initiative was prompted by a unity of purpose, namely the defeat of our common enemy. What will our purpose be in peace?

Our purpose in peace must be the fulfillment of these human needs. Can anyone deny the fact that Canadians will have an incentive for greater initiative in peace time living and achievement under these happier circumstances. Might we reiterate here that this does not necessitate the implementing of Russian socialism in Canada, but rather making the machinery of democracy work to a fuller degree.

We Too Must Have A Purpose

And here are some of the obvious reasons why this abundant life stimulates and universalizes initiative: It insures the right of every citizen to have an honorable and a useful way of making a living by his work; it provides an opportunity for every worker to share in planning industry and in directing the enterprise to which he devotes his effort; it not only declares on paper but declares in reality of incomes and of services, equality of opportunity for education, health and security in old age; it provides equal rights for all and special privileges for none, promoting equality of sex, of race, of economic security, and guarantees equal freedom in politics, in social standing and in religion. Under such conditions it will be perfectly safe to release initiative from its glass case of privilege and give it a free hand.



While we are discussing social change we must take into consideration the various methods used by the people to bring change about. People naturally fear bloody revolution and abhor dictatorship, but social change in Canada

means neither revolution nor dictatorship. However, we cannot escape historic facts because from the lessons of the past we can learn just how to guide ourselves in the future.

During the past number of years the worst features of the Russian revolution have been flaunted at us in order to make us believe that in order for any people to bring about social and

economic change means revolution and all that it entails.

Of course it is absurd to assume that because there was no other course for the Russian people to take than that which they did take, that we in Canada must necessarily follow a similar course. This is not so, in spite of the fact that the reactionary press would have us believe it.

Necessity was the mother of the Russian methods. That necessity was composed of the whole background of Russian history. It will be sufficient for our purpose here to emphasize the main facts which made revolution and dictatorship inevitable in Russia. Other facts in our historic background will make it equally inevitable that we adopt other methods in keeping with those facts.

Why Russia Had A Revolution

For many generations Russia had been governed by a ruthless Czarist dictatorship. The people had known no other form of government, and in a crisis such as had ripened under Czarism they could not have responded to any other sort of government. Most important of all to be remembered is the people whose grievances under Czarist oppression had brought about the crisis. The peasants, the industrial workers and artisans had no vote; Czarism had taught them the use of only one weapon, that of physical force. That was the weapon of the Czar. That was the only weapon in the hands of peasant soldiers when they returned defeated from the German battle front, and they used that weapon. And they used it successfully. Well may every Canadian be glad today that the Russian people did overthrow the despotism of the Czar and establish Socialism. For if it had not been for the power, genius, courage and sacrifice of Russia, Nazism might well have had its way in the English speaking nations as it has in conquered Europe.

Czarist Russia was feudalistic in character. We who had long since destroyed feudalism and become an industrialized state were in a position to observe the Russians do what our ancestors in large part had done for us. We had forgotten, or were unable to realize what had to be done by our predecessors. How did the British overthrow feudalism and gain a measure of political freedom? Was it not by civil war, death to traitors and the beheading of kings? How did France become a democratic republic? Was it not by a bloody revolution?

The emergence of the Russian people which had been so long delayed was bound to be catastrophic. The explosive power generated by the pent up feelings against an oppression centuries old, had been covered up by sheer despotism. No wonder that when the explosion occurred it reverberated around the world.

We were shocked, we who lived in comparative freedom and comfort. We forgot that just a century and a half ago this continent had a great political and economic explosion too, that reverberated around the world and in turn shocked certain people.

But people forget. The American Revolution is only a long and exciting chapter in our history books today and the names of George Washington, Tom Paine, Lafayette, Chaim Solomon, Paul Revere, are today respected pillars of American tradition—names, the very mention of which sends a thrill down the spine of most Americans, young and old.

Here in Canada our own revolutionary traditions are a source of pride to many of us, and the names of William Lyon Mackenzie, Papineau, are part of our hallowed memory. We forget that they were the upstarts of their day—the so-called trouble-makers, and only when history has at last shown their true greatness, we realize that without them and others like them, Canada would have neither parliamentary government nor free institutions, and that perhaps at the turn of the century our farmers too may have been peasants toiling in serfdom under a feudal lord.

We should learn to judge the Revolution in Russia in this light. Russia had long been held back by feudalism, a haughty, cruel aristocracy that revelled in luxury while the masses of the people wallowed in poverty and disease. To destroy this cancerous growth the Russian leaders realized that the operation must be swift, the removal clean, even though not without bloodshed.

No doubt in years to come the names of Lenin, Budyenny, Stalin and Timoshenko may find their places in the history of mankind's struggle for liberty, equality and brotherhood of man; as pillars along with the Cromwells, the Washingtons, the Papineaus. Perhaps we will yet live to see in our time the admission by more and more people that the Russian Revolution laid the foundation to a great European democracy that gave its people not only the tools to fight with when their very existence was threatened—but something great and holy to fight for.



different results in each one of the countries mentioned.

However, Canada and the English-speaking world is not ripe for revolution, nor do we need revolution to bring about the necessary secure state that the Canadian people should enjoy. We are living at a very crucial moment in history. It is hard to tell just what type of governments we will have on the European continent after the war is over. The situation there is too complex and too much in a state of flux for sound analysis and conclusions. There is one positive factor however, and that is the fact that the four great United Nations have decided to crush our merciless foe into unconditional surrender and to give each one of the occupied countries the right to self determination. Already we can see that wherever the people have had their say as they did in Yugo-Slavia, and probably in other countries yet to be heard from, they definitely do not want their old rulers back. It is hard to say whether or not Socialism as we know it in the Soviet Union will be the outcome in Europe. We do know, however, that where the people have the opportunity to speak and where they are given the opportunity to speak, they have spoken out against the old and shown a burning desire to fight for and build the new and fuller life.

A Practical Plan For Immediate Action

How can we get this fuller life? As we have seen, the only way that the Russian people could get this fuller life was through complete overthrow of all the vestiges of their old order. They had to overthrow, by force, a feudalism that disappeared in Canada years ago. However, for us here in Canada, having attained this highest form of industrial and technological development over a period of years in a democratic way, we can proceed, through an alignment of all progressive forces, to attain these social benefits step by step.

The trade unions must understand that it is necessary for them to be concerned with more

than wages, hours and working conditions. Who more than the worker, his wife and children, understands full well the meaning of the term the hungry thirties, for it was he and his sons who trekked across this country in 1935 during that now famous "On to Ottawa March." It was he and his family who suffered most from want, hunger and privation. The miserable homes, the undernourished children, the disease and the futility which was the Canada of the great depression, when the worker was an honored member of this class of ragged individuals. Today when the working man has attained a measure of security, let him not forget these things, and let him remember that we can return to this dismal picture if the common man is not united to prevent its recurrence.

The other partner in this unity is the farmer, the owner of the land as well as the hired man. Let him remember the broken-down living quarters, the bedspreads made from sacking, the shabby clothing and the frustration that was his lot along with the worker not so long ago. The farmer must understand that rural electrification, better housing, schools, hospitals, etc., cannot be attained unless these same human benefits are given equally to all other members of society.

And then the middle class must realize that their lot is so interlocked with that of the farmer and the worker that where the one or the other suffers privation and destitution, he too suffers, even to the extent of becoming declassed himself. He must not forget the last depression where the middle class suffered as much, if not more, than either the worker or the farmer. By middle class we mean the white collar worker, the storekeeper and the small business men. All men who earn their living by self-employment and those who give employment on a small scale to others—all these are members of what we have come to know as the middle class. People have a tendency during times of prosperity to forget their yesteryears. We just cannot afford to forget, for to forget would allow yesterday to steal in on us unaware.

With the three groups mentioned must side yet another class, a class that at one time was interested only in profits and self-aggrandizement.

Some members of this class still persist in carrying on in this same selfish way, but there is a group among them that has realized that their own state of well-being is part and parcel of the well-being of the worker, the farmer and the middle class, and that where one suffers the other eventually is affected and that as the three sink into the mire of depression he can be dragged

with them to utter ruin. This group of business men must realize now where their salvation lies.

The time for readjustment of man's thinking to put him in step with the times is now. The time for meditation and thought is today, for tomorrow we must be ready to usher in that world of abundance. The issues are not complicated. They are very simple, and brought down to bare essentials they mean that all four must decide just where we are headed for. Will they join with these forces of progress on the march in the world today towards the fulfillment of this dream of man's greater glory—man's revaluation of life as it was and should be, or will they just sit back and let history repeat itself. Having decided to go forward they will unite and work together toward this common goal.

The alternative is that we are faced on this continent by a threat of reaction undreamed of and not often enough considered. That reaction may not take the form of fascism in Germany or Italy, may not don brown shirts or black shirts, may not use the swastika as a symbol, but nevertheless it will have all the manifestations of reaction necessary.

How can we determine what this reaction is? Very simply. Those people who feel that we must go back the way of pre-war insecurity, who would by legislation or economic domination prevent the people from having their birthright, their just inheritance—the elementary necessities that we are talking about—those very people are the enemies of the common man. It is to prevent the possibility of such inhuman selfishness arising after the war, and perhaps before the war ends; it is to see to it that we get the things necessary for an abundant life that men of every race, color and creed must unite to prevent the one from foisting itself upon the Canadian people and to see to it that the other becomes part and parcel of our way of life.

May we close with an extract from a recent speech by Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President of the United States of America:

"Unfortunately, we are much further from victory over fascism than from victory over the German armies. Fascism fights us on both sides of the line. Fascism fights us in both continents in the New World. Fascism will fight on from new bases after military victory is complete.

"Let us not commit the tragic folly of underestimating our enemy. No country has escaped it. The world-wide assault on the power, on the worth and dignity of man is the living issue of

our time. Fascism flourishes in a time of faltering and divided purpose. It will die in a time of dynamic common purpose and faith.

"We must make that common purpose inevitable. The future of the world holds a promise greater than the past has ever shown us. The future is not a fixed thing. It is not predestined. We have only to bestir ourselves in order to realize our dreams. For we have the lands, the forests, the mines and the people. We have in our hands the tools of science, gigantic in their power, miraculously swift in their accomplishment.

"We can control floods, make the desert bloom, house a nation in comfort, conquer poverty and stamp out most disease. We know we can do these things if we *will* to do them. The common man is on the march. His vision of the future will largely determine the world's future.

"We must realize that we are a part of the great world and start to plan to live in that world. We want life to be more humane. We want to live up to the great historic issue of America—freedom—freedom for our own land and for all the world."



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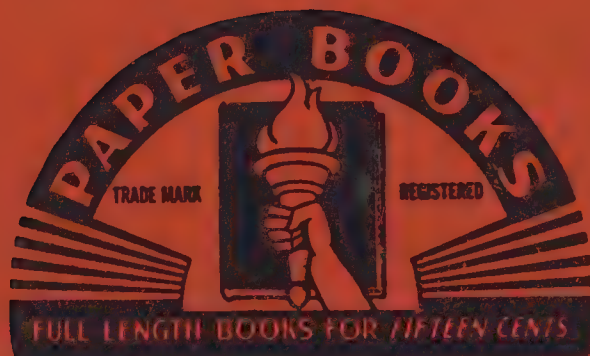
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